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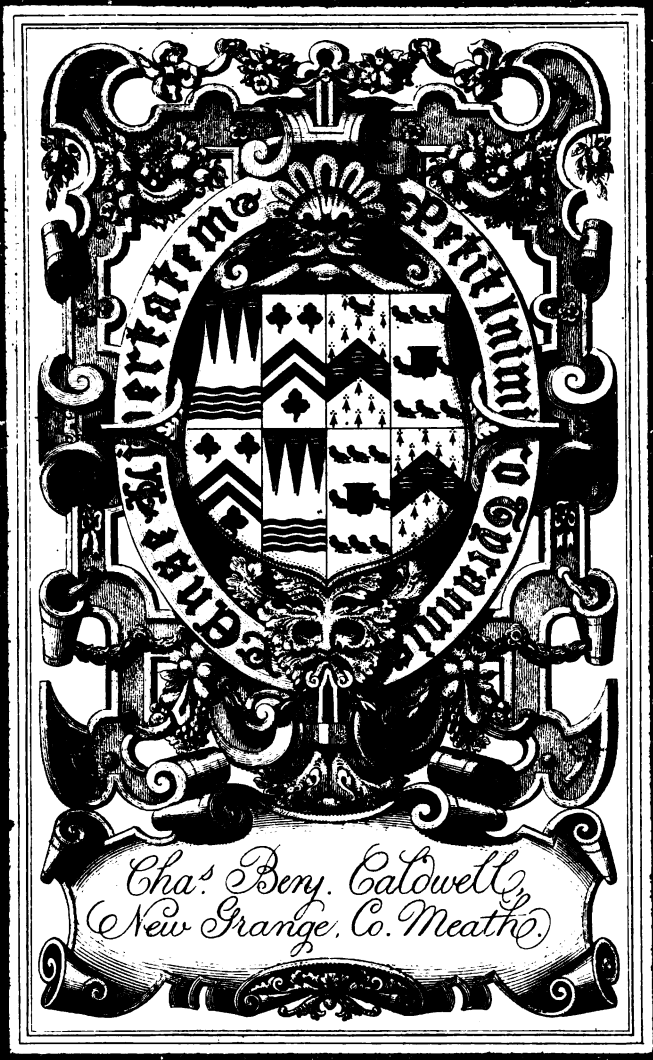

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Edvardus Cave, ob. 10 Jan. 1754.

Ætatis 62.

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A

SELECTION

OF

CURIOUS ARTICLES

FROM THE

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

RESEARCHES, HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME;
AND J. MUNDAY, OXFORD.

1809.

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J. Munday, Printer, Oxford.

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PREFACE.

IT will be generally allowed, that a small and judicious selection from a very voluminous and miscellaneous work,* cannot be made without some labour and difficulty. The Editor, while he endeavours to gratify the various tastes of his readers, must occasionally feel a considerable degree of embarrassment, and in his moments of hesitation will be ready to exclaim,

Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis quod tu, jubet alter.

It was thought proper to confine the selection to three volumes of a moderate size. This necessarily obliged the Editor to take those articles only, which, to his judgment, appeared, on the whole, to be the most useful, curious, and interesting.

* The Gentleman's Magazine commenced in January, 1731. In the beginning of 1783 it was considerably enlarged; and from that time each volume has been divided into two parts.

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All matters of a temporary nature are omitted. With respect to the omission of articles in BIOGRAPHY and TOPOGRAPHY, the Editor can only say that many of the former are written in a hasty manner, and though curious as detached notices and memoranda while remaining in their original state, are scarcely worth reprinting: many of the latter, to say the least of them, are of very doubtful authority. It may be here remarked, that what has been said with respect to the articles in BIOGRAPHY, is applicable to the omission of many of those on other subjects.

The articles are classed under their appropriate heads; a method which the Editor conceived would be more convenient and pleasant to the reader, than if they had been presented to him in an indigested mass, in no other order than according to their priority of publication in the original work. The date of the Magazine from which each article is taken, is noticed at the end of it, by which means the reader, should he think proper, will be enabled, without trouble, to refer to the original; which will always retain its value, and which cannot be superseded by any selection or abridgment. For the greater facility of finding any particular article, or any subject noticed in any article, there is given a Table of Contents at the beginning, and a full Index at the end, of each volume.

Those who are conversant in the Gentleman's

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Magazine will recollect that a work of a similar nature to that now presented to the public, was suggested, some years ago, by the author of the "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," to Mr. Nichols,* who was prevented from undertaking it by other and more important avocations; a circumstance which must be considered as an apology for its being arranged and sent into the world by the present Editor.

OXFORD, MAY 1, 1809.

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* Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gibbon to Mr. Nichols, dated Lausanne, February, 24, 1792, which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1794.

"I am tempted to embrace this opportunity of suggesting to you the idea of a work, which must be surely well received by the public, and would rather tend to benefit than to injure the Proprietors of the Gentleman's Magazine. That voluminous series of more than threescore years now contains a great number of literary, historical, and miscellaneous articles of real value: they are at present buried in a heap of temporary rubbish; but if properly chosen and classed, they might revive to great advantage in a new publication of a moderate size. Should this idea be adopted, few men are better qualified than yourself to execute it with taste and judgment."

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RESEARCHES

HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN.

I. A Debate between the Committee of the House of Commons in 1657, and O. Cromwell, upon the humble petition and advice of the Parliament, by which he was desired to assume the title of King.

THE following Debate will, doubtless, engage the attention of our readers, not only by the importance of the question, but by the reputation of those who were deputed to discuss it, and the strength of the arguments employed by them, which, we hope, is not impaired by our method or expression.

The difficulty of procuring this Debate, which was published in 1660, and we believe never afterwards re-printed, inclined us to insert it in our Magazine without alteration; but we found it, upon a closer examination, by no means adapted to the taste of those who expect entertainment and instruction at the same time; or require, at least, to be improved without unnecessary labour; for the speeches being taken, probably, in short-hand, with omissions of passages less important, and of such words as the writer imagined himself able to supply from the general contexture of the sentence and drift of the discourse, which is frequently practised by short-hand writers, are either for want of memory, or care in the copier, so ungrammatical, intricate and obscure; so full of broken hints, imperfect sentences, and uncouth expressions, that very few would have resolution, or curiosity sufficient to labour in search of knowledge through so many obstructions. Nor should we have attempted it, had we not been encouraged by the hopes of preserving others from so disgusting a task.

The various arguments made use of by the several members of the committee, we have reduced, to avoid repetition, into one series or discourse, and annexed to each argument, in the margin, the names of those by whom it was produced.

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On April the 11th, [according to Whitlocke, on the 4th,] the Protector was attended by the committee, appointed by the parliament, to receive and answer his doubts and scruples relating to their request and advice, that he would assume the title of King, but the Protector being unwilling to disclose his own sentiments, till he was informed of the reasons by which the parliament had been determined, the following arguments were offered by the committee, which consisted of 100 members; those who were deputed to treat on this subject, being

Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice.
Lord Chief Justice Glynne.
Mr. Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury.
Mr. Lisle and Mr. Fines, Commissioners of the Great Seal.
Lord Broghill.
Mr. Lenthal, Master of the Rolls.
Sir Charles Wolseley.
Sir Richard Onslow.
Colonel Jones.

May it please your highness,

It is with great satisfaction, that we see ourselves deputed by the parliament to confer with your highness, upon the settlement of the public tranquillity, and the establishment of such a form of government as may best promote the great ends for which government was instituted, for which we have been so long labouring, and for which we have hazarded our fortunes and our lives. We doubt not of finding your highness ready to concur in any lawful measures, that can contribute to the happiness of the public, to the pacification of those differences that have so divided them, and to the perpetuity of that freedom which has been so dearly purchased, and so successfully defended. And we cannot forbear to inform you that, in our opinion, in the opinion of the parliament, and of the people who are represented by it, these purposes cannot be effectually prosecuted by your highness without assuming not the office only, but the title likewise of King.

Chief Justice *Glynne.*

Your highness may demand why, having already made you Protector, invested you with the office of chief magistrate, and intrusted you with the care of our liberties, our commerce, and our honour, we are now grown weary of our institution, and desire to restore a title, which a long series of wicked administration had made it proper to abrogate? To this we can easily answer, that our request is the request of the

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people, the people whose interest is chiefly to be considered, and to whom it is your highest honour to be a faithful servant. That they have a right to judge for themselves, to promote their own happiness by their own measures, and to distinguish their servants by what name or titles they shall judge most proper, cannot be denied. Monarchy has always been thought by this nation, the most eligible form of government, and the title of King has been always considered by them as essential to it. The office has never been complained of, nor the title changed, even by those parliaments that have made the strictest inquiries into the defects of our constitution, and have had power to reform whatever they disliked. The office in general was always regarded as useful and necessary, and the title was reverenced, when the conduct of him that held it was condemned. It is never prudent to make needless alterations, because we are already acquainted with all the consequences of known establishments and ancient forms; but new methods of administration may produce evils which the most prudent cannot foresee, nor the most diligent rectify. But least of all are such changes to be made as draw after them the necessity of endless alterations, and extend their effects through the whole frame of government.

Sir *Charles Wolseley.*

Sir *Charles Wolseley,* Ch. Justice *Glynne.*

Whitlocke.

That the change of the title of King to that of Protector, or any other, would affect the remotest links of subordination, and alter the whole constitution, is evident, at the most superficial and transient view of the laws and customs of the nation. Every officer of justice acts in the King's name, and by the King's authority, an authority that gives life and efficacy to law, and makes every sentence valid and binding. In all criminal cases the law knows not any prosecutor but the King, nor can inflict any punishment but in his name.

Whitlocke, Lenthal, Glynne, Fines, Broghill.

If it be urged, the judges have already taken their commissions in the name of the lord Protector, and supposed his authority and that of the King to be the same, let it be remembered that the judges themselves were far from concurring in their opinions; they whose province it is to justify the proceedings of the government to the people, were not satisfied themselves, and even those that complied with least reluctance pleaded rather the resistless force of necessity, than the authority of law or the evidence of reason; and let us not reduce our

Glynne.

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judges to say, when either the captious or conscientious inquirer shall demand the reasons of their conduct, that they act not as they *ought* but as they *must*.

In desiring you to assume this title, the parliament has regard not only to conscience but prudence, not only to the people's happiness but to your safety. The office of Protector is new and unheard of till now, and by consequence unknown to the law, nor understood with regard to its relation to other parts of the constitution; so that neither the duties of Protector are known by the people, nor those of the people by the Protector; such ignorance and uncertainty can produce nothing but disputes, murmurs and confusion.

Whitlocke, Glynne, Lisle, Broghill.

The knowledge of our duty is necessarily previous to the practice of it, and how can any man know his duty to a magistrate to whose authority he is a stranger? The limits of obedience to a Protector are settled by no law, nor is there any statute in being that condemns any attempt to shake off his authority. For this reason it is not without long hesitation and importunate persuasion, that juries are prevailed upon to assign the name, and fix the guilt of treason to any conspiracies against your life or government. The King's authority is supported by the law, and his person is exempt from violation; but the Protector's office has no such sanction, and his power may therefore be, if not justly, yet legally resisted; nor is his person secured any otherwise than that of the meanest subject. The Protector is, indeed, in a state of greater difficulty and embarrassment than any other member of the community; he is obliged to obey the laws, but with regard to his office is not protected by them; he is restrained by the law from any exorbitant exertions of power, but not supported by it in the due exercise of his authority. This defect in the supreme magistracy must affect all subordinate authority; those who act by the Protector's commission, can receive from him no other power than such as he is invested with, a power which the laws of the nation, those laws to which on all occasions every man must appeal, disavow, and reject. So that no man can be obliged by law to admit the determinations of the courts as obligatory and conclusive, and how great the number is of those who deny any moral or conscientious reason for obedience to the present government, your highness needs not be informed. These men, however at present subjected, are at least formidable by their multitudes, and it is always more eligible to procure

Wolseley.

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a chearful and willing, than constrain an involuntary and reluctant obedience. All these men allow the
Broghill. authority of regal government, and profess their willingness to submit to it; so that all opinions unite in this point, and all parties concur to make a compliance with this request necessary to your highness. Nor is it only for your own sake that this desire is so warmly pressed, but for the security of those whose endeavours have contributed to the establishment of the present government, or shall hereafter act by your authority. All those who receive commissions from the King, by whatever means exalted to the throne, are secured from prosecution and punishment in any change of affairs, by the statute of the eleventh year of Henry the seventh; but the name of Protector can confer no such security, and therefore the cautious and vigilant will always decline your service, or prosecute your affairs with diffidence and timidity; even the honest and scrupulous will be fearful of engaging where they have nothing but their own opinion to set in balance against the law; and the artful and the avaricious, the discontented and the turbulent, will never cease to contrive a revolution, by which they may avenge the wrongs that they imagine themselves to have received, and riot in the spoils of their enemies.

The present alienation of the crown of these realms from him who pretends to claim them by his birth, may be compared to a divorce, which may, by the mutual consent of both parties, be set aside. It is therefore necessary, to prevent any future reunion, that the crown be consigned to another.

Were the reasons for your assumption of this title less weighty than they appear, the desire of parliament ought to add to their efficacy. It is not to be conceived
Glynne. that we are able to assign all the arguments that might be formed by the united and concurrent wisdom of so numerous and discerning an assembly, an assembly deputed by the whole people to judge and to act for them. The desires of a parliament are never to be considered as sudden starts of imagination, or to be
Wolseley. rejected as trivial, or unworthy of consideration; the desire of the parliament, is the voice of the people; nor can it, indeed, be now disregarded, without breaking all the rules of policy, and neglecting the first opportunity of reinstating the nation in tranquillity.
Glynne. The parliament, the only authority which the nation reverences, has now first attempted to establish a legal and settled government, by conferring on

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your highness the title of King, which you therefore cannot refuse without encouraging the enemies of our government, by shewing not only, that the chief magistrate of the nation bears a title unknown to the law, but even such as is disapproved by the parliament, that parliament which he himself called.

Broghill.

But the parliament is far from desiring that their authority alone should enforce their desire, for which they have so many and so strong reasons to alledge; nor are their own reasons alone to be considered, but the authority of all former parliaments, who have ever been to the last degree cautious of admitting the least change in any thing that related to the constituent part of our government.

When King James, after his accession to the crown of England, was desirous of changing his title to that of King of Great Britain, the parliament refused to admit any alteration in the regal stile; not that they discovered any apparent ill consequences arising from it, but because they did not know how far it might affect the constitution, nor to what farther alterations it might make way. In the late parliament, when it was proposed that the name of parliament should be changed to that of representative of the people, the proposal was for the same reason disapproved. Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari was a fixed principle of the ancient barons, and certainly nothing can shew greater weakness than to change without prospect of advantage. Long prescription is a sufficient argument in favour of a practice against which nothing can be alledged; nor is it sufficient to affirm that the change may be made without inconvenience, for change itself is an evil, and ought to be balanced by some equivalent advantage, and bad consequences may arise though we do not foresee them.

Lenthal.

But the consequences of the change now proposed are neither remote nor doubtful; by substituting the name and office of Protector in the place of those of King, we shall immediately alarm the people, we shall awaken the jealousy of the wise, and the fears of the timorous, there will be indeed some reasons for apprehension and suspicion, which designing men will not fail to exaggerate for their own purposes. The first question that will naturally arise will be, What is this new office of Protector, upon what law is it founded, and what are the limits of his authority? To these inquiries what answer can be returned? Shall it be said that his authority is independent, despotic, and unlimited? Where then is the li-

Fines, Lisle.

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berty for which the wisest and best men of this nation have been so long contending? What is the advantage of all our battles and all our victories? If we say

Whitlocke, Glynne, Fines, Broghill.

that the authority of the Protector is bounded by the laws, how shall we prove the assertion? What law shall we be able to cite, by which the duties of the Protector to the people, or those of the people to the Protector, are marked out?

This then is the great reason upon which the parliament have made their request. The people are to be governed according to the law, and the law acknowledges no supreme magistrate but the King. It is necessary to the good administration of the state, that the duty both of governors and subjects should be known, limited, and stated, that neither the governors may oppress the people, nor the people rebel against the governors; the parliament therefore desires that the office and title of King may be restored as they are understood in their whole extent, and in all their relations; every man is well informed when the King acts in conformity to the law, and when he transgresses the limits of his authority. But of the power of the Protector they know nothing, and therefore will suspect every thing; nor indeed can their suspicions be reasonably censured, for till they are informed what are the claims of this new magistrate, how can they know their own rights?

Glynne.

Wolseley, Whitlocke, Broghill, Glynne.

Fines, Lisle, Broghill.

If your highness should injure or oppress any man, to what law can he appeal? He may, indeed, discover that the King could not have attacked his property, but will never be able to prove that the Protector is subject to the same restraint; so that neither your highness is protected by the law when you do right, nor the subject redressed if you should do wrong.

Glynne.

The end for which monarchy has been for some time suspended, is the happiness of the people, and this end can only now be attained by reviving it. The question may indeed be brought to a short issue, for either the office of Protector is the same with that of King, or something different from it; if it be the same, let us not be so weak as to impose upon ourselves, or so dishonest as to endeavour to deceive others, by rejecting the name while we retain the thing; let not an aversion to an idle sound, to a name reverenced by the people, and approved by the parliament, incite

Broghill.

Fines.

Fines,

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Lisle, Glynne. you to reject the petition of the whole nation, to raise difficulties in the distribution of justice, and awaken themselves in the minds of all those who attend more to names than things, who will always be the greatest number, and whose satisfaction ought therefore to be endeavoured by all lawful compliances.

Broghill, Fines, Wolseley. It is a certain truth that old institutions are, merely because they are old, preferable to new plans, in their nature equally good, because a very small part of mankind judges from any other principle than custom, and it will be long before new titles attract their regard, esteem, and veneration.

But if the office of Protector be not only in its denomination, but in nature also, absolutely new, we are then yet in a state of uncertainty, confusion and misery; we have the bounds of his authority to settle, the rights of parliament to state, all our laws to new model, and our *Fines.* whole system of government to constitute afresh. An endless and insuperable task, from which we intreat your highness to exempt us, by assuming, according to the advice of parliament, the office and title of King.

The Protector having desired some time to consider the arguments that had been offered, returned on April the 13*th (the* 7*th as may be collected from Whitlocke) his Answer to this effect.*

My Lord,

Though I am far from imagining myself qualified to controvert a question of so great importance, with the learned members of this committee, especially as the arguments have been founded chiefly upon the laws and ancient constitution of this nation, with which I have had no opportunity to be well acquainted, yet, since it may be reasonably required of me either to yield to your reasons, or to assign the difficulties and objections that hinder me from yielding, I shall attempt to consider and discuss them diligently and distinctly.

It has been urged with great appearance of strength, that the title of King is the only title by which the laws acknowledge the chief magistrate of this nation, that the title cannot be changed without supposing a change in the office, and that a change in the office would be a dangerous innovation, productive of debate, jealousy, and suspicion; that the limits of this new-erected authority would be unknown to the people, as being unsettled by the law; that

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the people are best pleased with institutions which they have long known, and that therefore it would neither contribute to the public happiness, nor to our own security, to obtrude upon the nation titles and offices either new in reality or in appearance.

The apprehension that the parliaments have always expressed of changes and innovations, has been made appear by two remarkable instances, and to shew the necessity of restoring the title of King it has been alledged, that not only the dangers and discontents that novelty produces will be escaped by it, but that both the chief magistrate, and those that act by his authority, will be more effectually protected by the laws of the nation.

These are the chief arguments that have dwelt upon my memory. Arguments doubtless of force, and such as do not admit of an easy confutation, but which, however, in my opinion, prove rather the expediency than necessity of reviving monarchy under its ancient title, and as such I shall consider them, for where absolute inevitable necessity is contended for, the controversy will be very short; absolute necessity will soon appear by the impossibility of shewing any method of avoiding it, and where any expedient may be proposed that may probably produce the same effects, necessity vanishes at once. Very few actions are really necessary, most of them are only expedient, or comparatively preferable to other measures that may be taken. Where there is room for comparisons there is room for diversity of opinions.

That the title of King is not necessary, how long soever it may have been in use, or what regard soever may have been paid it, is plain from the very nature of language. Words have not their import from the natural power of particular combinations of characters, or from the real efficacy of certain sounds; but from the consent of those that use them, and arbitrarily annex certain ideas to them which might have been signified with equal propriety by any other. Whoever originally distinguished the chief magistrate by the appellation of King, might have assigned him any other denomination, and the power of the people can never be lost or impaired. If that might once have been done, it may be done now; for surely words are of no other value than their significations, and the name of King can have no other use than any other word of the same import.

That the law may be as regularly executed, and as chearfully obeyed, though the name of King be entirely rejected, is, in my opinion, plain, from the experience both of

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the time in which I have administered the government, and of that when the execution of the laws was intrusted to the (Custodes Libertatis Angliæ) Keepers of the Liberties of England, in which justice has been as regularly, as equally, and as expeditiously distributed as in the happiest days of the most celebrated Kings. The judges did, indeed, hesitate for some time about the legality of their commissions, but a short deliberation freed them from their doubts, and certainly their authority ought to be of weight, as they have been excelled by none of their predecessors in learning or abilities.

That I have never interrupted the course of justice, all the judges can attest, and, I believe, affirm with equal confidence, that it has not been more obstructed by any other impediment than in former times; so that the title of King appears by no means necessary to the efficacy of the law.

Such obedience has been paid to the supreme magistracy under two different denominations, neither of which was established by a parliamentary sanction; and why should we imagine any other title would obtain less regard when confirmed by the power to which the title that you now contend for owes its validity?

There was once a time when every office, and the title annexed to that office, was newly invented and introduced; from what did it derive its legality and its importance at its first introduction, but from general consent? The great, binding, the inviolable law, is the consent of the people; without this nothing is right, and supported by this nothing can be wrong. Antiquity adds nothing to this great sanction, nor can novelty take away its authority. What is now determined by the people, or by their proper representatives, is of equal validity with the earliest institutions, and whether they will be governed by a supreme magistrate under the King, or any other, the government is equally lawful.

As therefore neither reason nor experience can prove that this title is absolutely essential to the due administration of justice, it is proper to inquire how far it may be convenient, what proportions of advantage or detriment will arise from it. In this inquiry I hope that the honesty of my intentions, and the purity of my heart will not be mistaken. I hope that neither hypocrisy nor artifice will be imputed to my open declarations and sincere professions; declarations and professions which I make not hastily and negligently, but with care, reflection, and deliberate caution, in the pre-

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sence of the Almighty power, by whose providence I have been guided, and in whose presence I stand. I hope it will not be imagined that I reject the title of King from fondness for that of Protector, a name and an office to which I was far from aspiring, and which I only did not refuse when it was offered me; nor did I then accept it as imagining myself qualified to govern others, who find it sufficiently difficult to regulate my own conduct, nor even from a confidence that I should be able much to benefit the nation; the only motive by which I was induced to engage in so arduous and invidious an employment, was the desire of obviating those evils which I saw impending over the nation, and to prevent the revival of those disputes in which so much blood had been already shed, and which must inevitably involve us in endless confusion.

Having these prospects before me, I thought it not lawful to reject an opportunity of preventing calamities, even when there was no hope of promoting happiness: I therefore could not but accept, what at the same time I could not ardently desire. For nothing can deserve to be pursued with eagerness and assiduity but the power of doing good, of conferring real and solid benefits upon mankind. And surely, while the only end for which greatness and authority are desired, is public good, those desires are at least lawful, and perhaps worthy of applause: they are certainly lawful, if he that entertains them has, by a long and diligent examination of his own heart, an examination serious and sincere, without any of those fallacious arts by which the conscience is too frequently deceived, satisfied himself that his ultimate views are not his own honour or interest, but the welfare of mankind, and the promotion of virtue, and that his advancement will contribute to them.

Having informed you by what means I was raised to the Protectorship, and for what reasons I accepted it, I may properly proceed to deliver my own sentiments of the office in which I have engaged, that it may appear, from my own notions of my present situation, how little it can be preferred by me, on account of any personal views, to that which the parliament now offers, and that whatever arguments I shall make use of in this question, are not dictated by private interest, but by a sincere and unfeigned regard for the happiness of the nation.

I have often considered, with a degree of attention suitable to the importance of the inquiry, what is the nature of my present office, and what is the purpose which I am principally to have in view, and could never attain to any

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farther determination than that I was the chief constable of the nation, and was intrusted with the care of the public peace. This trust I have endeavoured faithfully to discharge, and have been so far successful, that peace has never been long interrupted, and whatever miseries have been feared or felt, we have enjoyed the blessing of quiet, a blessing, in my opinion, too valuable to be hazarded by any unnecessary or inconsiderate innovations, and for the sake of which I think it therefore necessary to decline the title which is now offered me.

This argument will not, perhaps, be immediately understood, nor is it easy for me to make it intelligible, without giving an account of some past transactions, too long to be excused but by the importance of the subject.

At the beginning of the late war between the King and parliament, I observed that in all encounters the royalists prevailed, and our men, though superior in number, or other advantages, were shamefully routed, dispersed, and slaughtered; and discoursing upon this subject with my worthy friend Mr. John Hampden, a name remembered by most of you with reverence, I told him that this calamity, formidable as it was, admitted, in my opinion, of a remedy, and that by a proper choice of soldiers the state of the war must soon be changed. You are, said I, in comparing our forces with those of the enemy, to regard, in the first place, the difference between their education and habitual sentiments. Our followers are, for the most part, the gleanings of the lowest rank of the people, serving men discarded, and mechanics without employments, men used to insults and servility from their cradles, without any principles of honour, or incitements to overbalance the sense of immediate danger. Their army is crowded with men whose profession is courage, who have been by their education fortified against cowardice, and have been esteemed throughout their lives in proportion to their bravery. All their officers are men of quality, and their soldiers the sons of gentlemen, men animated by a sense of reputation, who had rather die than support the ignominy of having turned their backs. Can it be supposed that education has no force, and that principles exert no influence upon actions? Can men that fight only for pay, without any sense of honour from conquest, or disgrace from being overcome, withstand the charge of gentlemen, of men that act upon principles of honour, and confirm themselves and each other in their resolutions by reason and reflection? To motives such as these, what can be opposed by our men that may exalt them to the same

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degree of gallantry, and animate them with the same contempt of danger and of death? Zeal for religion is the only motive more active and powerful than these, and that it is in our power to inculcate. Let us choose men warm with regard for their religion, men who shall think it an high degree of impiety to fly before the wicked and profane, to forsake the cause of heaven, and prefer safety to truth, and our enemies will quickly be subdued.

This advice was not otherwise disapproved than as difficult to be put in execution: this difficulty I imagined myself in some degree able to surmount, and applied all my industry to levy such men as were animated with a zeal of religion, and to inflame their fervour; nor did the effect deceive my expectation, for when these men were led to the field, no veterans could stand before them, no obstructions could retard, or danger affright them; and to these men are to be attributed the victories that we have gained, and the peace that we enjoy.

Of this account there may be many uses; it may contribute to confirm us in our perseverance in this cause, that it has hitherto succeeded by the endeavours of good men; it may tend to the confirmation of religious men in their purposes of an holy life, that those principles are more efficacious and powerful than any other; but with regard to the present dispute, I mean only to observe how highly these men are to be valued, how much of our regard they may justly claim, and how weak it would be to alienate them from us by reviving a title which they have been taught to abhor.

It may be urged, that to refuse obedience to lawful authority, under whatsoever name, is not consistent with the character of piety; and that to abhor the title and office of King, the title lawfully conferred, and the office justly administered, is not so much religion as prejudice, and rather folly than conscience. Nor can I deny either of these assertions; I am far from thinking it lawful to withhold obedience from lawful government, and freely confess, that to reverence or detest a mere name, is equally weak. And I am confident that those good men of whom I have been speaking, will obey the legislative power by what title soever exercised; and with regard to their scruples, however unreasonable, it is my opinion that they who have done and suffered so much, deserve that some indulgence should be shewed, even to their weakness, and that they should not be grieved with imaginary hardships, or perplexed with tormenting scruples without necessity; their readiness to comply with authority is a plea for tenderness and regard, which

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will contribute to unite their endeavours with ours, for the suppression of those who seem to look upon it as their duty to oppose all government, and whose opinions lead them to imagine all human authority impious and detestable.

The reason for which these men will be offended at the revival of the title and office of King, a reason which, I confess, has some weight with me, and may, perhaps, more strongly affect weaker minds, if any such there are, is this; we are, indeed, principally to consult the scriptures as the rule of our consciences, but we are likewise to have regard to the visible hand of God, and the dispensations of providence, by which the scripture may be often very clearly and usefully explained; in these explications, indeed, we may easily be deceived; and therefore ought not to depend upon them with a presumptuous degree of confidence, but to use them with caution, modesty, and a careful attention to every circumstance that may rectify our mistakes; but we certainly ought not to pass great events over without reflection, observation, or regard.

When, in conformity to this rule, I consider the late revolution that has happened in this nation, and see that, not only the royal family is subdued and exiled, but the name and title eradicated by the providence of God, it appears to me no less than presumption to attempt to restore it. How just these proceedings were with regard to those that transacted them, I am not now to dispute, nor need I say how I would act were the same circumstances to recur, I only desire you to remember, that neither by me, nor by those who invested me with this authority, was the title abolished, but by the long parliament. It is sufficient for my purpose to remark, that the title was not laid aside by caprice, or accidental disgust, but after ten years' war, by long and sober deliberation; and what is this less than the hand of God? When I see that by these instruments of vengeance he has not only expelled the family, but blasted the title; would not an attempt to restore it be like an endeavour to build up Jericho, to defeat the designs of providence, and oppose the great ruler of the universe?

These are the reasons for which I think the office and title of King neither necessary nor expedient; whether they ought to convince you I am not able to determine, nor wish that they should have any force which their own weight does not give them. In the desire of a firm and settled form of government, the great end for which this proposal is made, I concur with the parliament, and hope that no reasons or resolution of mine will in the least tend to obstruct it; for

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a firm and legal establishment, as it is the only method by which happiness or liberty can be secured, is equally the concern of every wise and honest man, and whoever opposes it, deserves nothing less than to be marked out as an enemy to his country. I would not wish that this great design should be frustrated by a compliance with my inclinations, for settlement and order are surely necessary, whether royalty be necessary or not; whatever may contribute to this, I intreat you steadily to pursue, nor should I advise even to deny that gratification to the particular prejudices or passions of private men, that may secure their affections to good for the advancement of it. For my part, could I multiply my person, or dilate my power, I should dedicate myself wholly to this great end, in the prosecution of which I shall implore the blessing of God upon your councils and endeavours.

On the 13th of April, (according to Whitlocke) the Committee attended the Protector, and offered the following reply.

As the request of the parliament is of too great importance to be either granted or refused without long deliberation, we have thought it necessary to attend your highness a second time, that this great question, after having been on both sides attentively considered, may at last be diligently discussed, and determined with that caution which is always to be used, where the happiness and tranquillity of the public is evidently concerned.

That the title of King is not absolutely and physically necessary to government, will be readily admitted; for, if government can subsist an hour, or a day without it, no man can affirm that it is absolutely necessary. Necessity in this sense has no place in political transactions. Laws themselves are not absolutely necessary, the will of the prince may supply them, and the wisdom and vigilance of a good prince make a people happy without them. Natural necessity allows no room for disputation, being always evident beyond controversy, and powerful beyond resistance. Therefore in all debates of this kind, by necessity, moral necessity is to be understood, which is nothing more than a high degree of expedience, or incontestable reasons of preference.

Fines.

That the title of King is in this sense necessary to the government of these nations, may perhaps be proved, but an attempt to prove it seems in the present state of the question superfluous, because the request of the parliament

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is in itself a reason sufficient to overbalance all that has been urged in opposition to it. And it may therefore be rather required of your highness to prove the necessity of rejecting that title which the whole people of England entreat you to accept.

For nothing less than necessity ought to be put in balance with the desires of the whole people legally
Fines. represented. But how can such necessity be evinced? Or whence can it arise? That either monarchy, or any other form of government is contrary to the revealed will of God cannot be pretended. No kind of government is unlawful in its own nature, nor is any one dignified with a higher degree of the divine approbation than another; political institutions are like
Lenthal. other contracts, in which such stipulations are to be made as the contracting parties shall judge conducive to their happiness, and they must therefore vary according to the various opinions of those that make them; but when made they are all obligatory and invio-
Fines. lable. There is therefore no necessity from the divine commands either of accepting this title, or refusing it; there is nothing in the name of a King either *sacred* as some have had the weakness to assert, or *profane* as others have imagined with no better reason. The necessity on either side must therefore be accidental, and arise from circumstances and relations. And surely the prescription of many hundred years, the authority of the law, and the approbation of the people, are circumstances that will constitute the highest degree of political necessity.

That monarchy under the title of King has all the sanction that antiquity can give, is too evident for contro-
Glynne, versy, but it may perhaps be questioned how far
Fines. the sanction of antiquity deserves to be regarded. The long continuance of any practice which might have been altered or disused at pleasure, is at least a proof that no inconveniences have been found to arise from it, and a custom not in itself detrimental becomes every day better established, because the other parts of life will be regulated with relation to it, till what was merely arbitrary at first, appears in time essential and indispensable. The nation might doubtless when government was first instituted here, have chosen any other constitution no less lawfully than that of monarchy, but monarchy either by deliberation or chance was established, and the laws have all been made in consequence of that establishment, and so strongly connected with it that they must stand or fall together. The

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King is obliged to act in conformity to the laws, and the law can only act by commission from the King. The prerogative of our monarchs, and the authority of our laws, it has been already the task of several ages to regulate and ascertain, a task which must be again begun, if the supreme magistrate has another title.

Fines, Glynne, Broghill.

If it be urged that this labour may be spared by one general act, declaring the power of the Protector the same with that of our former Kings, what then have we been contending for? a meer name! an empty sound! yet a sound of such importance to be preferred to the voice of the whole people! But this certainly will not be proposed, because if such an act be public, all must be immediately convinced that they are governed as before by a King, and therefore all objections to our ancient constitution remain in their full strength.

Fines, Broghill.

But indeed the long continuance of monarchy, is an irrefragable proof, that in the opinion of the people, there have hitherto arisen no lasting or heavy calamities from it, and that therefore nothing can reasonably be feared from reviving it, at least nothing equivalent to the discontent that will be produced by a total alteration of our constitution, and the apprehensions which a new power, or new title, must certainly create; a title of which the import is unknown, and a power of which the limits are unsettled.

Antiquity, which to the wise and inquisitive is often only a proof of general approbation, becomes to the vulgar a foundation for reverence. Institutions and customs are long continued because they are good, and are reverenced because they have been long continued. Thus the danger of changing them, grows every day greater, as the real usefulness is always the same, and the accidental esteem of them is always increasing. To shew how much this regard to antiquity contributes to the good order of the world, and how inevitably it arises from the present state of things, is not at present requisite; since experience may convince us of its influence, and the experience of our own times above any other, in which we have almost every day been changing the form of government, without having been able to satisfy either ourselves or the people.

Jones.

Whether any of the schemes that have been tried, were, in themselves preferable to that of monarchy, it is difficult to determine; but this at least is obvious, if they were not preferable, monarchy ought to be restored, and if they were, there needs no farther proof of the affection

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of the people to the ancient constitution, since they would be content with no other, though of greater ex-
Jones, cellence; but after years spent in fruitless expe-
Lenthal. riments, have returned back to monarchy with greater eagerness.

Nor was the disapprobation of these new forms merely popular, but the result of long deliberation, and
Lenthal. careful inquiry in those whose opinions ought most to be regarded in questions of this kind. Some of the judges themselves, even of those whose learning and integrity are above distrust, refused to act by any other commission than that of the King, and, as it was observed in our last conference, those that complied, plead-
Broghill. ed no other reason for their conduct, than necessity, a reason which can last no longer, since that necessity is now at an end.

Nor can it be wondered, that those whose lives have been laid out upon the study of the laws, have conceived the strongest ideas of the necessity of this title; a title supposed by the law so essential to our constitution, that the cessation of its influence, even for a few days, might subvert or endanger it, as the destruction of one of the elements would throw the natural world into confusion. For this reason it is a fixed principle, *That the King*
Lenthal. never dies, that the regal authority is never extinct, and that there has in effect been no more than one King since the first establishment of monarchy. For, during the time that the regal authority should be suspended, the law must cease from its operations; no crime could be punished, nor any question of property be decided; all power to punish, and all authority to decide, being derived immediately from the King, whose office therefore cannot be abrogated; for no authority can be taken away but by a superior power, and this nation has never known or acknowledged any power independent on that of the King. The authority of parliament, and the rights of the people, can boast no deeper foundation, or stronger establishment. The power of parliament has no efficacy but as it co-operates with that of the King, nor can one destroy the other without a general dissolution of our government: these two concurrent powers are the essential parts of our constitution, which, when either of them shall cease, is equally destroyed.

These considerations are surely sufficient to vindicate the judges, whom it would be to the last degree unreasonable to blame, for their steady adherence to the laws, which it

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is the business of their office to maintain; but it is not to be imagined that the same motives influenced the bulk of the people to this general desire which was so apparently prevalent throughout the nation. General effects must have general causes, and nothing can influence the whole nation to demand the restoration of monarchy, but universal experience of the evils produced by rejecting it; evils too evident to be concealed, and too heavy to be borne. One of these, and perhaps not the least, is the interrup-

Lenthal, Fines. tion of justice, which has not been administered but by the assistance of the army, the last expedient that ought to be made use of.

That the laws did not lose more of their authority, and justice was not more evaded, is indeed not to be

Jones. ascribed to the forms of government which these years of distraction have produced, but to the care, integrity, and reputation of those men in whose hands the great offices were placed; who were reverenced by the people on account of their own characters, rather than from any regard to the powers by whom they were commissioned. Powers which yesterday produced, and which were expected to perish to-morrow. For every title, except that of King, which antiquity had made venerable, is considered only as the issue of a momentary caprice, and subject to be changed by the inconstancy that erected it, as soon

Lenthal. as any inconvenience shall be discovered to arise from it; because what is raised by one act of parliament, may, by another, be destroyed, and such alterations it is reasonable to expect; for as no form of government is without its defects, while it remains part of every man's right to propose a new scheme, which he will always think more beneficial than any other, every man that has any real or fancied amendments to offer, will be impatient till they have been tried, and will endeavour to facilitate the reception of them, by exaggerating the disadvantages of the present plan, and heightening the discontents that arise from them. Thus shall we go on from change to change, from expedient to expedient. Thus shall we attempt to remove one evil by introducing another, and gain nothing by all our fatigues, perplexities and sufferings, but new conviction of the necessity of complying with the laws and the people.

It is indeed no great proof of regard to the nation, to deny any legal request; perhaps more may be said

Fines. without the least deviation from truth and justice. The people, for whose sake only government is

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constituted, have a right to settle the forms of it, and this petition is only an exertion of that natural privilege which cannot be forfeited. All government must derive its legality either from the choice of the people by whom it was established, or from their consent after its institution; the present government was erected without their concurrence, and it is to be inquired whether it be not now dissolved by their petition to dissolve it.

But whether this petition may be lawfully refused or not, prudence at least requires that it be complied with; for it is always absolutely necessary to the happiness of any administration, that the people love and esteem their governors. The supreme magistrate must therefore assume the title of King; for no title that has not the sanction of the parliament, and is therefore subject to an immediate change,

Fines, *Whitehouse,* *Lenthal,* *Jones,* *Glynne,* *Bright.* can be equally reverenced with that which has been established by the approbation of many generations, the authority of many parliaments, and which the experience of the whole nation, has proved to be without those dangers that may be justly suspected in any new institution, which can never be considered in its whole extent, or pursued to all its consequences.

Nor can the nation in this demand be charged with inconstancy in their resolutions, or inconsistency in their conduct; for that the war was begun not against

Lenthal. the office of King, but against the person of him who was then invested with it, and discharged it in a manner contrary to the intention for which he was intrusted with it, is apparent from four declara-

Jones. tions of parliament; nor is it less known that the first breach of unanimity among the friends of

Broghill. liberty was produced by the abolition of this title, and may therefore be probably repaired by the revival of it.

If it be urged that the question, which relates only to a name, be trifling and unimportant, it may be replied, that the less is demanded, the greater contempt is shewn by a refusal. That titles are more than empty sounds, may be proved not only from the present dispute, but from the ancient constitutions, and the determinations of

Onslow. former parliaments, by which the title of King was declared essential to the constitution, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII.; and yet a stronger proof of regard to titles, was given to the parliament of Henry the VIII. in which it was enacted, that the title of

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Lord of Ireland should be changed to that of
Whitlocke. King; that the difficulties arising from the ambiguity of the title might be removed. Even the late convention called together without the election or concurrence of the people, found the prejudice arising from mere titles of so great force, that they were obliged to assume the name of a parliament, that their determinations might escape contempt.

Thus the request of the parliament appears not only reasonable, but necessary; not only consistent with the present disposition of the people, but conformable to the sentiments of all former acts; and certainly nothing should produce a refusal of such a request except the impossibility of granting it.

But the objections raised by *your* highness seem very far from implying any necessity of declining the title so unanimously offered you, and so earnestly pressed upon you, being founded upon suppositions merely conjectural. For your first assertion, that the office does not necessarily require the same title, has been already considered, and it has been shewn, that there can be no reason in altering the title, if the power be the same; and that the supreme magistrate cannot be invested with new powers without endless confusion and incredible jealousies. It is therefore of no great force to object, that many good men will be dissatisfied with the revival of the title; for though it must be granted, that those who have assisted us in shaking off oppression, have a claim to our gratitude, and that piety, though erroneous, deserves indulgence, yet both gratitude and indulgence ought to be limited by reason.

Jones. In things indifferent, considerations of tenderness and respect may turn the balance; but we have not a right to consult the satisfaction of a few, however great their merits may have been, at the expence of the public tranquillity, and the happiness of succeeding generations. The satisfaction of particulars may be endeavoured by particular provision; but if, in questions of universal importance, we have regard to any thing but universal good, and the great laws of reason and justice, we shall be tossed in endless uncertainty. *He that observeth the winds shall never sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall never reap.* He that attends to mutable circumstances, and waits till nothing shall oppose his intention, shall design for ever without execution. When are we to hope for settlement, if general unanimity must introduce it? Whatever shall be determined, multitudes will still remain dissatisfied, because

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mens' opinions will always be various. It was
Fines, not with universal approbation that the title of
Onslow. Protector was assumed, or that any change has hitherto been made; but since some discontent
Broghill, will always be found, whatever measures shall
Whitlocke, be taken, let not the satisfaction of private men
Broghill. be preferred to that of the parliament, to the determination of which all good men will readily submit.

Still less weight has the objecti n drawn by your highness from the visible dispensation of providence, of
Fines, which we know too little to direct our actions
Onslow. by them, in opposition to evident reason, to certain facts, and revealed precepts; lights which we always are commanded to use, and of which the two first can seldom, and the last never deceive us. If we consider this position, that because providence has once blasted the title of King, or suffered it to be blasted, it is therefore never to be revived, it will soon appear that we cannot admit it in its whole extent and pursue it through all its consequences, without involving ourselves in endless difficulties and condemning our own conduct.

If providence hath blasted the office of
Jones, King, how can it be proved that the supreme
Onslow, power, in any single head, under whatsoever
Fines, title, even the power which you now pos-
Broghill, sess, is not equally interdicted? The acts of
Fines, parliament extend equally to all titles, and
Broghill. declare against monarchy under every name.

But the consequences of this proposition do not terminate in this inconsistency of conduct, but extend equally to every determination; for if what has
Fines, been once destroyed by providence be for ever
Jones. after interdicted, what will remain of which the use is lawful? What is there of which we have not at some time been deprived by providence, or which providence has not some time made the instrument of our punishment? May not the dissolution of
Broghill, the long parliament be interpreted as a blast
Fines. from heaven with equal justice, and he people be represented no more? But in reality, the proceedings of providence are not intended as rules of action, we are left to govern our own lives by virtue and by prudence; when a form of government is des-
Fines, troyed, for just reasons it is blasted by providence, and loses its efficacy; when with equal

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reason it is restored, then providence again smiles upon it, and the sanction of heaven renews its validity. If royalty was destroyed by providence, who can deny that the same providence directs it to be revived? Is not the resolution of the parliament equally a proof on either side; or have we any arguments to prove that the people co-operate with providence less when they require than when they reject a King? Let us wave such inconclusive arguments and dubious conjectures, and guide ourselves by the steady light of religion, reason, and experience. That a just demand is not to be refused, religion will inform us: reason will teach us that the magistrate is to conform to the laws, and not the laws yield to the magistrate: and the experience of many ages may instruct us, that the King has nothing to fear from compliance with the parliament. At least if any danger should arise from the measures now proposed, it will arise from the performance, not neglect of our duty; and we may therefore encounter it with that resolution which a consciousness of the approbation of God ought to inspire.

Onslow, Broghill, Fines.

Broghill.

THE PROTECTOR'S REPLY.

[*The reply is in many parts remarkably obscure, as well from the negligence and ignorance of the Copiers and Printers, as from frequent allusions to occurrences known to the persons with whom Cromwell was conferring, but not mentioned in any History which it is now in our power to consult; we have therefore collected such of the arguments as we can apprehend the full meaning of, and have omitted some unintelligible passages, and others which related to other articles in the Petition.*]

On the 26th of April, (and in another conference May 11,) the Protector made the following reply.

My Lord,

HAVING seriously reflected on the demand of the parliament, and the learned arguments produced by the committee to support it, I think it unreasonable any longer to delay such a reply as it is in my power to make, because it is both due to the great body by whom you are deputed, and necessary to the dispatch of public affairs, which seem to be entirely suspended, and to wait for the decision of this question; a question which I cannot yet think of so much importance as it is represented and conceived,

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The arguments produced in the last conference, I shall not waste time in repeating, because they were little different from those formerly produced, only graced with new decorations, and enforced with some new instances. With respect to the chief reason, the known nature of the title of King, the fixed and stated bound of the authority implyed by it, its propriety with regard to the laws, and the veneration paid to it by the people, I have nothing to add, nor think any thing necessary beyond what I have already offered. I am convinced that your authority is sufficient to give validity to any administration, and to add dignity to any title, without the concurrence of ancient forms, or the sanction of hereditary prejudices.

All government intends the good of the people, and that government is therefore best by which their good may be most effectually promoted; we are therefore, in establishing the chief magistracy of these kingdoms, chiefly to inquire, what form or what title will be most willingly admitted, and this discovery being once made, it will easily be established by a single act of parliament, concurring with the general desire of the people.

It may indeed be urged, that in rejecting the title of King, I deny the request of the parliament, and treat the representatives of the people with a degree of disregard, which no King of England ever discovered. But let it be considered how much my state differs from that of a legal King, claiming the crown by inheritance, or exalted to supreme authority by the parliament, and governing by fixed laws in a settled establishment. I hold the supreme power by no other title than that of necessity. I assumed the authority with which I stand invested at a time when immediate ruin was falling down upon us, which no other man durst attempt to prevent; when opposite factions were rushing into war, because no man durst interpose and command peace. What were the dangers that threatened us, and upon what principles the factious and disobedient attempted to interrupt the public tranquillity, it may not be at this time improper to explain.

The parliament which had so vigorously withstood the encroachments of the regal power, became themselves too desirous of absolute authority, and not only engrossed the legislative, but usurped the executive power. All causes, civil and criminal, all questions of property and right, were determined by committees, who being themselves the legislature, were accountable to no law; and for that reason their decrees were arbitrary, and their proceedings violent;

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oppression was without redress, and unjust sentence without appeal; all the business of all the courts of Westminster was transacted in this manner, and the hardships were still more lamented, because there was no prospect of either end or intermission. For the parliament was so far from intending to resign this unlimited authority, that they had formed a resolution of perpetuating their tyranny; and apprehending no possibility of a dissolution by any other power, determined never to dissolve themselves.

Such and so oppressive was the government planned out to us, and for our posterity; and under these calamities must we still have languished, had not the same army which repressed the insolence of monarchy, relieved us with the same spirit from the tyranny of a perpetual parliament, a tyranny which was equally illegal and oppressive.

When, after their dangers and labours, their battles and their wounds, they had leisure to observe the government which they had established at so much expence, they soon perceived that unless they made one regulation more, and crushed this many-headed tyranny, they had hitherto ventured their lives to little purpose, and had, instead of asserting their own and the people's liberty, only changed one kind of slavery for another.

They therefore dissolved the parliament which would never have dissolved itself; and that the nation might not fall into its former state of confusion, intreated me to assume the supreme authority, under the title of Protector; a title which implies not any legal power of governing in my own right, but a trust consigned to me for the advantage of another; this trust I have faithfully discharged, and, whenever the means of settling the public shall be found, am ready to give an account of it, and resign it.

The necessity which compelled me to accept it, was, indeed not wholly produced by the illegal resolutions of the parliament, but was much heightened by the ungovernable fury of wild fanatics and tumultuous factions, who, to establish their new schemes, would have spread slaughter and desolation through the kingdom, and spared nothing, however cruel or unjust, that might have propagated their own opinions.

Of these, some were for abrogating all our statutes, and abolishing all our customs, and introducing the judicial law of Moses as the only rule of judgment, and standard of equity. Of this law every man was to be his own interpreter, and consequently was allowed to judge according to his passions, prejudices, or ignorance, without appeal,

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Every man was then to commence legislator; for to make laws, and to interpret them for his own use, is nearly the same.

Another set of men there was, who were yet more professedly for investing every man with the power of determining his own claims, and judging of his own actions; for, it was among them a principle fixed and incontrovertible, that all magistracy was forbidden by God, and therefore unlawful and detestable.

It is unnecessary to say what must have been the state of a nation, in which either of these parties had exalted themselves to power; and how usefully that man was employed, who stepping on a sudden into the seat of dominion, had spirit to control, and power to suppress them.

The reproaches thrown upon my conduct by the ignorant or ill affected, I sometimes hear, but with the neglect and scorn which they deserve; I am acquitted by my own conscience, and I hope by the best and wisest men; I am convinced that I was called by providence to the power which I possess, and know that I desire it no longer than is necessary for the preservation of peace, and the security of liberty; that liberty which I have never violated, and that peace, which amidst murmurs, and discontents, threats, and complaints, I have yet never suffered to be broken. That I aspire to unlimited authority, and therefore assume a title unknown to the nation, is a reproach easily cast, and as easily contemned; my power has been the offspring of necessity, and its extent has been bounded only by the occasions of exerting it. If a settlement is now proposed, and previously to it, a legal establishment of my authority, it may be limited by you; under whatever title it shall be conferred upon me, that title will then be valid, and those limitations cannot be transgressed.

May 11.] With regard to the particular *title* which you have so warmly recommended to me, I cannot yet prevail upon myself to accept it; when I consider your arguments I cannot find them inevitably conclusive; and when I examine my own conscience in solitude, I find it yet unsatisfied. The desire of parliament is indeed a powerful motive, but the desire of parliament cannot alter the nature of things; it may determine me in things indifferent, to chuse one rather than another; but it cannot make those actions lawful which God has forbidden, nor oblige me to do what, though perhaps lawful in itself, is not lawful in my private judgment.

Upon the calmest reflection, I am convinced that I can-

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not, without a crime, comply with their demand; and therefore, as I am far from believing that those who sit for no other end than to preserve the liberty of the nation, can design any infraction of mine, *I declare that I cannot undertake the administration of the government, under the title of King.*

1741, *Feb. and March.*

II. Inquiry into the Death of Cardinal Wolsey.

Mr. URBAN,

THE learned and elegant author of the life of cardinal Wolsey, Dr. Fiddes, is at all times labouring, whenever it is possible, to exculpate his great man. The doctor is, indeed, a fine and an agreeable writer; but notwithstanding he is so ready with his well tempered mortar to cover defects, yet I think there is one point, very essential to the cardinal's character, wherein he has scarcely done his hero justice. It is Wolsey's behaviour at the last; when if, according to the popular notion of some, the cardinal actually poisoned himself, it is very inconsistent with that greatness of mind, for which the cardinal was so eminent, and which his panegyrist so justly celebrates on other occasions: to be a suicide, at length, argues great pusillanimity; and yet methinks he is but weakly defended by his advocate against an imputation so criminal, and so injurious.

I propose, therefore, to canvass this point: and, without any intention of patronising the rest of this author's specious glosses relative to the cardinal, I shall endeavour, partly by strengthening the doctor's reasoning in some cases, and in others, by offering here and there a new argument, to clear this fact, and as I humbly hope, to place it beyond all doubt for the future.

I conceive then, that in strictness we have no other authority for this passage of the cardinal's life, but that of Mr. Cavendish, afterwards Sir William Cavendish, who was his gentleman usher, and had received particular orders from the king's highness to attend the cardinal as the chief person about him, and was sworn to that service;* for as to later authors that mention this matter, they all follow Mr. Cavendish, giving such a turn to his words as was most agreeable

* Cavendish's Life of cardinal Wolsey, p. 138. Edit. 1667. 8vo.

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to their own sentiments: thus Philipot, in his catalogue of the chancellors, says, the cardinal died, "not without suspicion of poison, which he had prepared for himself, and given to his apothecary to deliver when he called for it." And Baker, in his chronicle, says, "But whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some *foul play* used, he fell soon after into such a looseness, &c." The former of these authors insinuates, that the cardinal poisoned himself; and the latter, that he, perhaps, might be poisoned by others, and yet, I dare say, they both of them made use of Mr. Cavendish; insomuch, that the whole weight of the evidence rests solely upon his testimony. But then, on the other hand, it must be confessed that Mr. Cavendish's authority is very great, and abundantly sufficient in this cause. His narrative of the life and death of his master must be read it is true with distinction, as requiring some care and discernment; for whilst he relates such incidents as he was not actually privy to, he is liable to the same errors that other biographers are, and consequently has been contradicted upon some points;* but in such matters where he was personally present, there is no room to suspect his fidelity, for in them he is a most competent witness, very fair, and very impartial.† Since then he may be relied upon in such matters as this before us with the utmost implicity, I shall here give you the substance of his narration.

The cardinal set out from Cawood for London, in the custody of the earl of Northumberland, and Sir Walter Welch, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, Mr. Cavendish attending him as his principal servant. They were got as far as the earl of Shrewsbury's, or Sheffield-manor, then called Sheffield Lodge, and there the cardinal staid some days. "It came to pass as he sat one day at dinner, I, being there, perceived his colour divers times to change; I asked him if he was not well, who answered me with a loud voice, I am suddenly taken with a thing at my stomach as cold as a whetstone, and am not well; therefore take up the table, and make a short dinner, and return to me again suddenly. I made but a little stay, but came to him again, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease: he desired me to go to the apothecary, and ask him, if he had any thing would break wind upwards. He told me he had; then I went and shewed the same to my lord, who did command me to give

* Dr. Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, passim. † Nicholson's Hist. Library, p. 139.

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him some thereof, and so I did, and it made him break wind exceedingly. Lo, quoth he, you may see it was but wind, for now I thank God I am well eased: and so arose from the table and went to prayers, as he used every day after dinner."* This was the 22d of November, 1529. The cardinal that afternoon walked about, and seemed to be perfectly recovered;† and Sir William Kingston, constable of the tower, coming for him at the instant to take him up to London, he was introduced to him that very afternoon, and the cardinal said to him, "If I were able and lusty as ever I was to ride, I would go with you; but, alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux, (at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself) it hath made me very weak, &c."‡

That night when the cardinal went to bed, "he fell very sick of the lask, which caused him to go to stool from time to time all that night, insomuch that from that time till morning he had 50 stools; and the matter that he voided was very black, which the physicians called adustine, whose opinions were, that he had not above 4 or 5 days to live." However he would have gone with Sir William Kingston the next day, which was Wednesday; but the earl of Shrewsbury advising him to the contrary, they did not set forward till Thursday. He was able to talk with the guard upon the road, (some of whom beforetime had been his servants) and at night he got to Hardwick-hall in Derbyshire; the next day, which was Friday, he arrived at Nottingham, and on Saturday at Leicester-Abbey; but this last day he was very sick, and was in danger of falling from his mule. He was at his arrival at Leicester so very weak and helpless, that Kingston, who, taking him by the arm, helped him up stairs, said, He never felt so heavy a burthen in all his life. As soon as he was in his chamber he went streight to bed, and never rose out of it after; for on Monday morning Mr. Cavendish thought he began to draw on towards death.‖ However he was able to talk with Sir William Kingston a considerable time about a certain business.§ On Tuesday morning, soon after four o'clock, he eat a small matter, and talked voluntarily and very sensibly with Kingston again; after which the usual signs of death began to shew themselves, and about eight o'clock he expired.

This is the unexceptionable narrative of Mr. Cavendish; after which, let us hear Dr. Fiddes's representation from

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* Cavendish, p. 240. † Idem, p. 143, 144. ‡ Idem, p. 145.
‖ Idem, p. 147, seq. 9. § Idem, 149.

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p. 499. "The cardinal," says he, "was entertained with much kindness and respect by the earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield-Park, with whom he stayed a fortnight. Whilst he was there, one day at dinner he complained of a sudden extraordinary coldness at his stomach. If he had any *foul play* done to him, there was more reason to suspect it from those who were charged with the custody of him, than from any attempt that he made upon his own life; his behaviour, from the time of his going into the North, having been confessedly pious, and suitable to his high character and station in the church."

Philipot intimates in the passage cited above, that the cardinal poisoned himself by a medicine prepared beforehand by his own direction; and it is certain that the observation made by Cavendish, "at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself," was subsequent to the taking of the medicine; but the doctor here insinuates, that the potion, or drug, might have been given him in one of the dishes at dinner before ever he took the medicine. But there is no colour of reason for any such supposition as this; for why must *foul play* be suspected, because a great man was suddenly taken ill? Such incidents as these are common to all, and as the cardinal had been indisposed before, as I gather from his words to Sir William Kingston, where he tells him that he had a flux upon him, and that it had made him very weak, the meat he eat might the sooner disagree with him, especially if it was improper in this case. But who were they that were charged with the custody of him at this time? I answer, the earl of Shrewsbury; for the earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Welch, having executed their commission by delivering him into the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, were both now gone.* But George, earl of Shrewsbury, was a person of great worth and honour, and appears from Cavendish to have been a good friend of the cardinal's, and incapable of any foul act of this kind. The doctor allows, that the earl treated his guest, or his prisoner, which you will, with much kindness and respect; he mediated with the king, at the cardinal's request,† that he (the cardinal) might answer the accusa-

* Dugdale's baronetage, p. 283.

† Fiddes tells us, the earl assured him; "that God and his friends had wrought for him according to his own desires, that he had more cause to rejoice than lament, or mistrust the matter; and that his enemies were more afraid of him, than he had need to be of his enemies: in short, that Sir William Kingston had been sent to do him honour, and to convey him forward to

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tions against him before his enemies.* He afterwards prevented him, out of mere tenderness and regard, from going on his journey the day after he had had that fatiguing night;† and it is plain that Mr. Cavendish always looked upon the earl as his master's assured friend.‡ I conclude, it is by no means likely, that the cardinal should be poisoned by those about him, nor do I think it more probable that he should poison himself: for first, his whole demeanour, as Fiddes observes, was such, as betokened him then to be under the power of very different thoughts from these.

Secondly, although I am sensible that poisons were not at this time unknown in England, and that great men formerly would carry with them certain deleterious preparations in order to put an end to life upon an exigence, as is reported of Hannibal and Mithridates, yet nothing of this kind appears in respect to the cardinal. Fiddes observes in another place, that the cardinal had no occasion at this juncture to shorten his life;‖ and it is remarkable in the case, that he had taken the medicine before he knew anything of the arrival of Sir William Kingston, or that he was to be conducted to the tower. And this I think equally material, to wit, that the apothecary who supplied the medicine, was an entire stranger to him, and consequently could not be entrusted by his eminence with a secret of this important nature. The cardinal in his prosperity, indeed, had a retainer of this kind,§ but he had no such attendant now; and this person, whoever he was, was either a servant of the earl of Shrewsbury's, or some practitioner in the neighbouring town of Sheffield. Philipot therefore talks wildly, by insinuating that the poison was previously lodged with the apothecary by the cardinal, for the apothecary here employed was a person of whom the cardinal had no knowledge.

London by such easy journies as he should command." But in Cavendish all this is said, not by the earl, but by Mr. Cavendish himself; however, it shews, that the removal of the cardinal to London was at his own request.

* Fiddes says, the earl of Shrewsbury had desired that Sir Wm. Kingston might be sent down to conduct the cardinal to the tower, but that is an inaccuracy; for the earl in his solicitations neither specified Sir Wm. Kingston, nor proposed that the cardinal should be sent to the tower.

† Cavendish, p. 146.

‡ Idem, p. 143.

‖ "Neither," indeed," says Fiddes, "was there at that time any reasons for his offering violence to himself, but rather many, why, in respect to the circumstances he was then under, he should not be suspected to have had any such design. He not only behaved himself with spirit, and a becoming resolution upon this arrest, but continually asserted his innocence, pressed for his trial, and desired nothing more than to see his enemies face to face.

§ Cavendish, p. 20.

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Thirdly, the words of the historian really amount to nothing: the cardinal told Sir William Kingston he had a flux upon him, upon which the historian adds, "at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself." Mr. Cavendish's book is printed from a very faulty MS. and my copy of it formerly belonged to some gentleman that had a manuscript in his possession, where this clause was wanting; for he has underdrawn the words, "at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself," and has written in the margin, "This is not in my MS." Insomuch that it seems to me Mr. Cavendish never wrote those words; and indeed they have very much the appearance of a glosseme. But supposing for argument sake, though not granting, that the words are genuine, they amount to nothing; for they contain only the private opinion of Mr. Cavendish, who confessedly knew nothing of the cardinal's taking any thing but the carminative medicine sent by the apothecary, and formed his judgment solely from his being taken ill so suddenly, and his saying he laboured under a flux; very slender grounds sure! and therefore it will be no impeachment upon this author's veracity in any other respect, should we say, he was mistaken in his opinion.

But let us hear Dr. Fiddes descant upon this fundamental passage; "Cavendish, indeed, speaking of the effects wherewith this violent disorder was attended, and from which the cardinal never recovered, saith, it was apparent that he had poisoned himself; but it is highly probable this expression ought to be taken in a softer sense than the words strictly import, and that he only intended by it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him by other hands." The expression, no doubt, may be taken in a softer sense; but there is no occasion to imagine, with this author, there was any real poison administered to the cardinal, either by his own, or by any other hand; for the latitude of the English idiom is such as to admit of one's saying, such a person hath poisoned himself, though he has only taken an improper medicine, or too large a dose of one that was proper, especially if the event prove tragical; and I apprehend that in the cardinal's case, who at the time had a tendency to a dysentery, the remedy he took might likely enough be improper, and if so, as it was by his own direction, he might with still greater propriety be said to have poisoned himself. In short, this expression does not imply design, or that the cardinal took poison of his own will, but only that what he took proved such in the event.

But fourthly, the progress of the cardinal's disorder, as

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related in the narrative, does not create any suspicion of poison, but may be easily accounted for otherwise. He had a looseness upon him, and one day at dinner felt a load at his stomach, called for a carminative, took it, broke wind upwards plentifully, and was immediately relieved, observing himself upon it, "you may see it was but wind." After this he does not appear to have been in any pain. At night, indeed, his looseness increased to a great excess, which brought on much weakness; however he was disposed to enter on his journey the next day, but yielding to the persuasions of his noble host, deferred it a day longer, and then he mounted and travelled three days together, but still without pain; and so he continued to the last, always easy, but still growing weaker and weaker, and in that manner expiring. I can discern nothing like poison in all this; on the contrary, it is humbly submitted to the faculty, whether any poison whatsoever, except opiates, can be given in a quantity sufficient to kill, without bringing on, either first or last, the most violent pain! As likewise whether a dysentery, sharp enough to occasion death, and brought on by a real poison, would not unavoidably cause a mortification in the bowels; and, if so, whether it be possible for a patient to survive a mortification in that part for more than six days, and to travel three of them on horseback? Besides, there were no symptoms of poison after his death; for, as Fiddes observes, "when his body, after he was dead, lay publicly exposed, with his face uncovered, at Leicester, and the mayor and aldermen there, to prevent false reports of his being alive, took a formal view of it, there appeared no symptom of his being poisoned." And yet I suppose some mark or token of the virulence of the medicine, had there been any, must have been seen.

But to view things now in a natural way, and to try to account for his death: the cardinal had been dangerously ill at Esher the Christmas before: the looseness at Sheffield Park was probably a return of that disorder; he had had it long enough to find himself weakened by it, and his stomach much injured; insomuch, that one day being oppressed with a flatulency, he prescribed to himself a medicine adapted to that purpose, which was given him without advice, being sent at hap-hazard by a practitioner, who neither saw his patient, nor knew any thing of his case. The intention of the medicine was to expel wind, and that it did effectually; but being either too strong in itself, or taken in too large a dose, and meeting at the same time with crudities in the stomach, and with weak bowels, it took a differ-

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ent turn at night, as carminatives will often do, and induced a dysentry; and this, being attended with the fatigue of a journey, in a few days time carried the patient off. This might very well happen, for the physicians were of opinion from the very night that the stools were so frequent, that he had not above four or five days to live; and whereas the matter he voided was very black and *adustine*, that, I presume, is no more than is common in bilious cases.

To conclude: this, I think, bids fair to be the true solution of this historical problem; at least, it will account for all the phenomena reported in the only authentic relation of Mr. Cavendish, without recurring to the violence of poison wilfully administered by any hand, and is not far remote from the interpretation of Mr. Speed, who, speaking of the cardinal's exit, writes, "whose death himself had hastened, by taking an over-much quantity of a confection to break wind off his stomach."

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.*

1755, *Jan.*

III. Some account of the Articles exhibited against Cardinal Wolsey in Parliament, by whom they were prepared, and the probable cause of their miscarriage.

Mr. URBAN,

THE name of cardinal Wolsey makes so great a figure in our history, is by some held so illustrious and by others so infamous, that I hope I shall not oppress your readers too much if I bestow a few words more upon him.

When this great minister was thought to be declining in the king's favour, the first thing which his potent enemy the duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the privy council did, (for none of them loved him, and indeed he had given them no cause,) was, to draw up a body of articles against him in the capacity of privy counsellors, and to present them to the king. But his highness, it seems, had no intention at this time of ruining the cardinal intirely, though he had shewn him very sensible marks of his displeasure; he therefore pocketed the charge, and nothing more was done.

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* The papers with this signature were written by that eminent antiquary, the late Rev. Dr. SAMUEL PEGGE, of whose name, *Paul Gémsege* is the anagram. E.

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These articles, as Hall tells us, f. 183, were in number 34, I think I do not mistake him, but there being some ambiguity in his words, I shall here report them, "And all their accusations were written in a boke, and all their handes set to it, to the nombre of thirtie and foure; whiche boke, &c." It is not very clear whether the articles, or the nobles and prelates that signed them, were in number 34, but I incline to believe the former was intended; because I do not suppose that the king's council at that time consisted of so large a number of members. Sure I am, that the articles of impeachment exhibited afterwards in parliament were signed only by seventeen, see the Parliamentary Hist. vol. II. p. 55. But now on the other hand, the accusations might probably amount to that number; for, as it will appear by and by, there were above forty layed against him in the house.

These articles, though they differed in number from those which were afterwards preferred in parliament against his eminence, and I think varied from them in several other respects, yet doubtless were the basis of his impeachment in the house of commons; for the parliament meeting the 3d of November following, to wit, A. D. 1529, a list of accusations containing no less than 44, were exhibited against the cardinal in the lower house, and what they were, may be seen in Dr. Fiddes, Lord Herbert, the Parliamentary Historian, and others. Hall indeed, (fol. 189. b.) seems to say, that the articles laid against the cardinal in parliament, were the very same with those, which the lords of the council had presented to the king; his words are, "during this parliament was brought doune to the commons, the boke of articles which the lordes had put to the kyng agaynste the cardinall." But this cannot be; for first, this transaction in the council passed before the great seal was taken from the cardinal, according to Hall; and consequently before Michaelmas term, for the cardinal sat in the court of chancery the first day of that term, which was then Oct. 9. See Hall, fol. 184, and Cavendish, p. 106. But the articles of impeachment are dated no earlier than Dec. 1. 2dly, Sir Thomas More signs the articles of impeachment as lord chancellor, for he stands there before the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and yet he could not be chancellor when the council preferred their book of articles to the king's highness, for Wolsey at that time filled the place himself, according to Hall, and actually sat as chancellor, the first day of Michaelmas term. Sir Thomas More had not the seal deliver-

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ed to him till Oct. 24. Hall, f. 186.* 3dly, Hall says expressly, that the nobles and prelates joined in signing the book of articles given to the king; but in the original of those brought against the cardinal in parliament, there does not appear the hand of any one prelate.

For these reasons then I must think, that the two schedules of articles were different, and that not only in number, but probably in some other respects. For to go one step further, it appears to me, that Hall had never seen the charge that was given into the house of commons, but by some means or other had obtained a sight of that which was before delivered to the king. This annalist, when he comes to speak of the transactions of this parliament, not only declares the articles then brought against the cardinal to be the same with those which the lords of the council had put into the hands of the king, as was noted above, but moreover, he has inserted nine of them into his work. But now, two of these nine, to wit, his carrying the great seal abroad, and sending so much treasure to Rome, do not appear in the articles of impeachment; which is a plain proof, 1st, that he had never seen the real articles of the impeachment; and 2dly, that the book presented by the council to the king, which he had seen, was somewhat different from them, varying not only in the number, but likewise in the matter of the accusations, as I before took the liberty to suggest. For since that book contained but 34 heads, as has been shewn, and yet included two charges that do not appear in the impeachment, which yet consisted of 44, it follows necessarily, that that list of allegations differed materially from the other, to wit, in the substance and nature of the charges, as well as the number of them.

The next thing I would observe, is, that Shakespeare in his life of Hen. VIII. Act. 3. Sc. 5. makes the earl of Surrey mention the book of articles delivered to the king, and to

* There is a mistake in Hall, by some means or other, about the time when the seal was demanded of Wolsey; he says it was seventene daie of November; he is undoubtedly mistaken in the month, for in the next leaf he says, the seal was given to Sir Thomas More, on Sunday Oct. 24, and this is true, for in the year 1529 the 24th day of Oct. was on a Sunday. But I suspect a mistake too, as to the day of the month; for Cavendish says, the seal was demanded the 11th, and delivered the 12th. See Cavendish, p. 106, and considering that the seal was first offered to archbishop Warham, before it was tendered to Sir Thomas More, see Burnet, vol. I. p. 80, the time intervening between Oct. 12 and 24, is not too long for such a transaction. To which I add, that though it is printed in Hall's book seventene at length, yet in the copy it was probably 17, and 11 and 17 are easily mistaken.

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particularize seven of them, in his quarrel there with Wolsey. There is a great impropriety in the poet's giving this part to the earl of Surrey, but since I am not so immediately concerned with that, all I shall notice, is, that in the first place Shakespeare took the articles from Hall, as is plain to a demonstration; for though he has omitted two, as thinking them I suppose less material, he has nevertheless retained those two, of carrying abroad the broad seal, and sending so much riches to Rome, both which are peculiar to Hall, and do not appear in the impeachment; and in the next place, that by his means, together with Hall, it has come to pass, that these seven articles are the most publicly known.

But here there arises a question, how, and by whose means, the charge against Wolsey came under the consideration of the house of commons? The Parliamentary Historian, after printing the articles, with the subscriptions, l. c. remarks, "it appears by the names of the lords who signed these articles, that they were drawn up by a committee, appointed for that purpose. And being read and agreed to by the whole house, they were first presented to the king, and then a copy of them was sent down to the lower house, for their perusal and approbation." But this could not be the case, for amongst the subscribers appear the names of Sir William Fitz William, Sir Henry Guildeford, and of the two chief justices, Fitz-Herbert and Fitz James. These now were not peers, but only members of the privy council, from whence it is clear, that it was the privy council, and not the house of lords, that impeached the cardinal in the house of commons. And whereas this author speaks of the articles of the impeachment being "first presented to the king," he plainly confounds the articles communicated to the commons, with that former book of articles mentioned in Hall, which had indeed been presented to the king, as was noted above; it does not appear that the articles brought into the house had ever been presented to his highness, but only were intended to be offered to him, in case the house should pass them.

But now let us consider the event of this affair, and the effect, which the cardinal's escape ought to have upon his character.

It happened that in this parliament, Thomas Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex, who had been a servant of the cardinal's, and a very faithful one, obtained a seat. Bishop Godwyn says, the cardinal procured him a place in this parliament, on purpose to secure himself; but this does not

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agree with Mr. Cavendish's account, p. 112. However, when this affair of his late master's came before the house, he defended him so handsomely, being not only naturally eloquent, but well instructed by the cardinal, to whom he had frequent recourse whilst the business was depending, that he brought him fairly off.

Now the cardinal's escaping the censure of the house of commons, in this manner, is thought by his advocate, Dr. Fiddes, to be a strong presumption of his innocence, and to amount to a full acquittal of his eminence from the guilt of the charge brought against him. He observes, the cardinal was then in disgrace with the king, consequently, that he had no support from the court; and that his patron Cromwell, having been lately his servant, and of no weight or authority in the house, into which he was but just now introduced, would be heard with great prejudice; whereupon he remarks, "the cardinal's acquittal, under such circumstances, and upon the defence made for him, by a person at that time so inconsiderable, and suspected as being partial to him, affords very reasonable grounds of presumption, that the articles in general against him, had no very good or solid foundation." Fiddes's Collections, p. 186.

But with submission, the cardinal's escape does not by any means imply his absolute innocence; for some of the articles might be true, though the proofs offered to the house, by the managers for the privy council, might be invalid; others again might be true, but frivolous, and consequently the grounds were not sufficient for the house thereupon to pass any bill of attainder. I will not urge here the testimony of Hall, who writes, fol. 190, that these articles, read in the house of commons, were "signed by the cardinal's hand, and were confessed by him," because I take this to be a notorious falsehood of an author that did not love him. The cardinal had confessed himself in a præmunire, by his attorneys, in a court of law. This was true; and this, I suppose, might be the foundation of Hall's assertion. But does not this very fact shew, that some part of the charge was true? The first article of the charge was, that by exercising his legatine powers he had injured the rights of the bishops, and other spiritual persons. This the cardinal himself had acknowledged, and his goods had accordingly been seized into the hands of the king; and, in my opinion, this was the very thing that brought him off in the house. He had already suffered the law; he was in a præmunire, and the house, I conceive, could go no further. This I speak, upon the footing of his cardinal

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dignity, which secured, as I judge it, both his life and his person;* to what purpose then, should the house proceed any further, when the party had really suffered all, that in those times the house had it in their power to inflict? Thus, Sir, you see, that some of the articles might be true, and yet the cardinal might escape the censure of the house. It is true I have here given you but one instance, but there are several others, and one of a very singular nature I propose to send you in my next.

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1755, July.

IV. The Charge against Cardinal Wolsey farther considered.

Mr. URBAN,

IN the last paper I sent you, as preparatory to this, it was asserted, that in relation to the charge brought against cardinal Wolsey in parliament, the house of commons could do no otherwise than they did; because, though several of the articles alledged against him might be true, he had either suffered the law for them already, or they were not sufficiently proved; or, lastly, that though they were true, and perhaps well established by the managers on the part of the privy council, yet they might be too inconsiderable, or in their own nature improper, for the house to ground any censure of the cardinal upon them. This last I take to be the case of the 6th article, which is of so uncommon a stamp, so singular and extraordinary, that the discussion of it upon that sole account, can hardly fail of proving acceptable to many of your readers. The article runs thus: "And also whereas your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this realm; the same lord cardinal knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease, of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, came daily to your grace, sounding in your ears, and blowing upon your most noble grace with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvellous

* A præmunire ordinarily extended to the party's person; but a cardinal of the church of Rome, could not, I think, at this time, when the pope's authority was still subsisting in this kingdom, be imprisoned by the civil powers.

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danger of your highness, if God of his infinite goodness had not better provided for your highness; and when he was once healed of them, he made your grace to believe that his disease was an imposthume in his head, and no other thing."

This article, as appears from Hall, was one of the heads of accusation preferred before, by the council, to the king; and from Hall it was taken by Shakespeare, and inserted in his play of Henry VIII. Now although the fact were true, that the cardinal had contracted the venereal disease, as in the charge was set forth, yet the commons, I think, would pay no regard to it, because it was partly frivolous, and partly coram non judice. It was not for them to take cognizance of the crime by which this ecclesiastic had got the foul distemper; and as to his approaching so near the king's person, and so often, with the disease upon him, it might be indecent, imprudent, impudent, and shameless, but could not amount to a crime, since the house might easily be satisfied, that the contagion of that odious distemper is not to be communicated by the breath. Dr. Fiddes therefore, in my opinion, acts but a weak part, where he blames bishop Burnet for saying, "that it was notorious the cardinal had the foul disease," upon the footing of his escaping the censure of parliament;* for the article might be true, notwithstanding the cardinal's escape; and that it was true, I, for my part, make no manner of doubt, for I think there is as much proof of this fact, as the nature of the case, at this time, is capable of.

In the first place the lords of the council not only charge him with it in those articles they had delivered to the king, but also persist in their charge in these which they were now exhibiting against him in parliament. The cardinal pretended, indeed, it was an imposthume in his head; but we must suppose he would say something, when the distemper appeared in his face, as we shall see it did, and it would naturally be asked, both by the king and others, what the matter was with his eminence's face.

In the next place it is well known that the cardinal had no aversion to the ladies. It is observed, by a very great antiquary,† that the cardinals were wont to ride upon mules, which was emblematical, for, according to "Upton de studio rei militaris," p. 148. "Isti magni abbates et abbatissæ debent in suis armis portare leopardos, mulos, burdones, vel

* Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, p. 479, and the Collections, p. 191.
† Mr. Anstis in Fiddes's Collect. p. 89, 91.

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titiros, pro eo, quod ipsi habent et portant instrumenta episcoporum, ut mitram et crucem, ut muli, leopardi, ut tales bestiæ portant instrumenta generativa equorum et leonum, non tamen eis utuntur naturaliter, neque habent ipsum actum vel generationis exercitium." This, the learned antiquary abovementioned says, has relation too to the mules upon which the ecclesiastics then rode. Accordingly, when, after the fall of Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, took occasion, in one of his speeches to the parliament, to compare the king to a shepherd, and the people to a flock of sheep, he resembles the cardinal to a *weather*, "So the great weather, which of late is fallen," says he,* an expression not accidentally dropt, but used purposely and with great propriety, as signifying to us the legal incapacity of the ecclesiastics of these times, through the profession of celibacy, to perform the office of rams. But all this notwithstanding, the cardinal, as was said, was a person of great intrigue. He had a natural son, who went by the name of Winter, See the article, No. 27, Dr. Fiddes, p. 109, 502, and his Collections, p. 182, besides whom, it is alledged in article 38, that he had two children by one Lark's daughter, whom he kept.† Now these things shew me that when Shakespeare makes Queen Catharine say,

Of his own body he was ill,‡

Dr. Warburton, who explains the passage thus, "i. e. he abused his body by intemperance and luxury," did not apprehend the true meaning of it, for the queen no doubt meant to charge him with fornication, as is plain from the sense of that phrase in Hall, Edward V. f. 16. where he makes King Richard say of Jane Shore "She was nought of her body." With this crime the queen expressly charges the cardinal in Hall, f. 181, and Hall, as is well known, was the author whom our poet chiefly followed.

But 3dly, the cardinal had actually lost an eye, and that it was by this distemper, no one, I think can reasonably doubt after what has been said, and that in the terms of the article it is so clearly implied, that the contagion had openly shewn itself about his head. "He is here represented, (says Mr. Anstis speaking of a drawing of the house of lords, anno 1524, in Dr. Fiddes) in a full or rather in a three-

* Parl. Hist. iii. p. 41.

† See also Skelton, p. 158 and 148 bis, where there seems to be an allusion to one of his mistresses; as likewise in Shakespeare iii. 5.

‡ Shakespeare, Henry VIII. act iv. scene 2.

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quarters face, which is the more observable, if the traditionary report have any foundation, that the disease which was objected to him in the articles, had left such a blemish in one of his eyes, that to hide that defect he was constantly pictured in profile. If that should be true, either we are to suppose his station in this part of the house required such a method of the position of his face, or that he contracted the marks of this distemper after the time that this picture was taken." Certainly, if this matter was to be decided by the two representations which we have of the cardinal, one in this draught of the house of lords, A. D. 1524, and the other, which is much larger, in Mr. Cavendish, it would go clearly in the cardinal's favour; for they being both profiles, (or perhaps one of them a three-quarters face) it has so fallen out, that one of them represents to us the right, and the other the left side of his face, and in both the eyes are very perfect. But one of these drawings was taken in 1524, and the other nobody knows when, wherefore, as Mr. Anstis observes, he might have contracted the distemper after these pictures were made. Besides, the former of them is so small that one would not build too much upon it. But as he certainly had lost an eye, as I shall shew by and by, if it were before the larger of these drawings were made, it must have been his right eye; for his left is very conspicuous in that larger one in Mr. Cavendish. Now, that he really had lost one of his eyes, I prove, not only from the tradition mentioned by Mr. Anstis, but by the testimony of a cotemporary writer, the poet Skelton, who wrote his poem, intitled, "Why go you not to court," in the cardinal's life-time, and expressly calls him Polyphemus; the words are these:

Sequitur Epitoma
De morbilloso Thoma,
Nec non obscœno
De Poliphemo, &c.

This Thomas here is the cardinal, who, he says, was become a monoc, by means of a distemper, which distemper he intimates, in the verses that follow, was a-kin to the leprosy, for he calls him Naman Syrum, and Mr. Becket has shewn in the Philosophical Transactions, that the great pox formerly often passed here in England under the name of the leprosy, the distemper with which Naaman was affected. But our poet calls it expressly the Neapolitan disease, and says the cardinal had been cut and slashed for it. But pray take Skelton's words from the edition of 1736.

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Porro perbelle dissimulatum
Illum Pandulphum tantum legatum
Tam formidatum nuper prelatum
Naman Syrum nunc longatum
In solitudine jam commoratum
Neapolitano morbo gravatum
Malagmate, cataplasmati statum
Pharmacopolæ ferro foratum. &c.*

It may be said indeed, that this piece of Skelton's is a virulent satire; but let his lines be coloured never so strongly, it is ridiculous to suppose he should say the cardinal had but one eye if he had both; and therefore I must insist, that though he should be mistaken as to the cause of the blemish, yet we must believe, that by one means or other his eminence was really deprived of the sight of one of his eyes. But I cannot imagine the poet was mistaken as to the cause; for

Fourthly, his testimony is very full for the cardinal's being infected with this distemper, and that it occasioned the loss of his eye. So, p. 174,

This Naaman Syrus
So fel and so irous
So ful of melancoly
With a flap before his eye
Men wene that he is pocky
Or els his surgions they lye.
For as far as they can spy
By the craft of surgery
It is manus Domini.

So again, p. 175.

He is now so overthwart
And so pained with panges
That all his trust hanges
In Balthosor which healed
Domingo's nose —— ——
Balthosor that healed Domingo's pose
From the puskilde pocky pose
Now with his gummes of Araby
Hath promised to hele our Cardinal's eie
Yet some surgions put a dout
Lest he will put it clean out.

* There are many faults in these lines of Skelton, but I do not think it proper to stay to correct them here.

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For Domingo's pose we must read Domingo's nose; and it is very evident from the seat of Domingo Lomelyn's distemper, whom Balthasor had cured, that this last was a doctor at that time famous for the cure of the pox. The cardinal's friends may call this piece of Skelton's all calumny and slander if they please; but more impartial judges will think the cardinal's case notorious, since he was so openly taxed with it, not only by this poet, but in repeated acts of the privy council.

The conclusion is, that this charge, as well as several others, was true, but being nothing to the purpose, the house passed it over, upon the representations of Mr. Cromwell, who no doubt could easily give the house satisfaction on such a futile accusation as this.

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1755, *August.*

V. Case of CHARLES BRANDON, Duke of SUFFOLK. An obscure passage in History illustrated.

AT the close of the proceedings at Black Friars, in the cause of the divorce of king Henry VIII. from his queen Catharine of Arragon, it was expected that the two legates, Campeius and Wolsey, would have passed a definitive sentence; but instead of that Campeius, who was speaker on the occasion, declared, to the disappointment of all the king's friends, that they could not finally determine the suit without acquainting the pope, and that it being vacation time in the court of Rome, by authority of which their eminencies sat, the court here must be adjourned from that day, which was the 23d of July, to the 1st of October, and accordingly he did so adjourn it.

The king was then present either in, as Shakespeare has it,* or rather near the court, as say other authors, and being highly exasperated by these delays, the duke of Suffolk, at his highness's commandment, for so we read in Cavendish,† stept up, and with a haughty countenance uttered these words, "It was never thus in England until we had cardinals amongst us; which words were set forth (as the author observes) with such vehemency, that all men mar-

* See his Henry VIII. † Cavendish's life of Wolsey.

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veilled what he intended, the duke further expressing some opprobrious words." Campeius being a foreigner, it is probable, understood little of what was said, and therefore was not likely to make the duke any reply; but Wolsey, who neither wanted spirit nor words on any occasion, answered him, by saying with great sedateness, "Sir, of all men in this realm you have least cause to dispraise cardinals, for if I poor cardinal had not been, you should not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders, wherewith to make such a brag in despite of us, who wish you no harm.——Speak not reproachfully of your friends; you best know what friendship I have shewn you; I never did reveal (it) to any person till now, either to mine own praise, or your dishonour." Whereupon the duke went his way, and said no more, being much discontented.

It is very plain the duke was stung, being conscious of the truth of what Wolsey alledged; but the question is, What it was that the cardinal alluded to; when, and upon what occasion he had saved the duke's life? Dr. Fiddes, who has written this cardinal's life, when he comes to this passage, professes himself ignorant of his meaning; his words are, "But that the charge itself had some foundation, though the fact upon which it is founded is still unknown, &c.*" And yet, I think it is not difficult to unriddle it; however, for the clearer apprehension of the matter, we must take things a little higher.

Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had a fine person, was endued with great strength of body, and of a noble courage, and having been brought up along with king Henry VIII. his disposition was so conformable to that of the king, that he became a great favourite with him. Nay, that king actually raised him from the condition of a commoner to a dukedom, creating him first viscount Lisle, and then duke of Suffolk; and this at a time when there were so few peers of that rank in England; for I think we had no other duke when their graces the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were made, 5 Henry VIII. but Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham. Brandon, by means of his close connexion with the king and the court, had an opportunity of recommending himself to the favour of the princess Mary, the king's youngest sister, and one of the finest women of her time. The princess, it is thought had no dislike to him; however she was afterwards married to Lewis XII. king of France,

* Fiddes, p. 454.

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but he dying within three months after the marriage, she became a dowager; and the king, her brother, writing her a letter of condolance upon the occasion, and to know her inclination as to her return into England, amongst others deputed the duke of Suffolk to carry it; when the duke, in possession of an opportunity so favourable to his inclinations, makes his addresses to the young queen, and in short married her in France, without the king's privity or consent.

This fact, I presume, would have been in construction of law, high treason; for let the king be never so favourably disposed towards him, the marrying his sister without his consent was a high crime: and had the king, in the violence of his resentment, been inclined to have pushed matters to extremity, his grace must have been tried by his peers; and, as they were to determine whether a treason had been committed or not, the duke's head would have been in the utmost jeopardy in such a reign. This I infer from the words of the statute 25 Ed. III. "And because that many other like cases of treason may happen in time to come, which a man cannot think nor declare at this present time, it is accorded, that if any other case, supposed treason, which is not above specified, doth happen before any justices, the justices shall tarry without any going to judgment of the treason, till the cause be shewed and declared before the king and his parliament, whether it ought to be judged treason, or other felony." Which shews, that to denominate an act treasonable, depended very much at that time on interpretation; to wit, whether the fact extended to the king and his royal majesty, which is what the statute required; and Henry earl of Surrey was accordingly executed in this reign, only for bearing certain arms which belonged to the king. It is true bishop Burnet says, in his history of the reformation, tom. i. p. 9. that Henry designed a marriage between his sister and the duke of Suffolk, but would not openly give his consent. But this is said without proof, and when we consider the king's temper and circumstances, not at all probable. He was fiery, and very jealous of his honour; and Thomas Howard, youngest son to the duke of Norfolk, was imprisoned in his reign for affiancing himself without the king's consent, to Margaret, daughter to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and his lady, Margaret, the king's sister, and actually died in prison, A. D. 1537. The king had no child himself at this time, his two sons being dead, and the princess Mary, who afterwards reigned, not born; insomuch that the suc-

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cession might possibly depend upon it: a point which this king ever kept in view, having, though not a personal, yet a bleeding remembrance of the broils that so lately had depopulated the kingdom during the long contests of the two houses of Lancaster and York. Henry takes particular notice of this affair of the succession in his speech at the Black Friars;* and it is well known that the remote issue of this very match, in the person of that accomplished lady, the lady Jane Grey, was very near creating this king's daughter Mary much trouble at the time of her accession.

Brandon himself, though a prime favourite, was still but a subject, and though the king afterwards might be induced to pardon him, and did so, yet it is not likely that he either intended or approved of the match: nay, I must think it impossible but that the marriage being solemnized and consummated without his leave, he, or indeed any other prince, would be highly offended at it; and if he had proceeded to take off the duke's head for it, it would have been far from being the most arbitrary, or most unjustifiable measure of his but too bloody reign. Both Brandon and the young queen were sensible of the danger they were incurring: she, for her part, interested Francis I. king of France, to use his good offices with her brother before the celebration of the nuptials; and the duke in his letter to the cardinal upon the occasion says, he told the king of France "He was like to be undone if this matter should come to the knowledge of his master," and yet he ventured to marry without obtaining his hard-ruled† master's leave, or even without acquainting him with his design. It was certainly an act of great presumption, and the duke accordingly in one of his letters to Wolsey expresses his fears, that "when the king comes to be acquainted with the marriage, he will be displeased," and so he desires him to mediate in his favour‡.

After the marriage, Suffolk and the French queen wrote to the king to implore his pardon; and one is obliged to suppose, from the natural impetuosity of Henry's temper, that he was incensed enough at first, and that there was the utmost need for some powerful friend to interpose between the duke and danger: Wolsey was that friend: Wolsey was then but archbishop of York, neither cardinal nor lord high chancellor, and consequently his greatness was but just

* Cavendish, p. 90.
† So Shakespeare makes Wolsey stile Henry VIII.
‡ Fiddes, p. 88.

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dawning, wherefore the laying an obligation so personal on two such great personages as the king's sister and the duke of Suffolk, would be viewed by him as a step most advantageous to his own rising, and as such be most greedily catched at, since by their assistance he might effectually overbalance the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Buckingham, the bishop of Winchester, or any others that he deemed his most powerful rivals in the king's favour. In short, a pardon was obtained for this noble couple, and it was very much owing, as Fiddes himself observes, p. 88. to the good offices of Wolsey. Well might this cardinal then afterwards say to the duke, upon this sole account, that he of all men had the least occasion to speak ill of cardinals, for had it not been for him, his head would not have been upon his shoulders; intimating methinks plainly enough, that the king at the time was so violently enraged against the duke for marrying his sister without his leave, that had not the cardinal pacified him, when perhaps no person living else could, he would have brought him for it to the scaffold.

Yours, &c.

P. GEMSEGE.

1755, *March.*

VI. Strange Incident in the Life of HENRY V. explained.

Mr. URBAN, *Oxford, Feb.* 13.

SPEED, in the life of Henry V. (Edit. 3.) tells us, that when he was prince of Wales, "He came into his father's presence in a strange disguise, being in a garment of blue satin, wrought full of eylet-holes, and at every eylet the needle left hanging by the silk it was wrought with." This strange disguise has often puzzled me as well as the author; and may be one reason why Rapin has taken no notice of it. But since my residence in this city, I have found the meaning of it in the following custom, observed annually on the feast of the Circumcision, at Queen's College, where the Bursar gives to every member a needle and thread, in remembrance of the founder, whose name was Egglesfield, falsely deducing it from two French words, Aguille Fil, a needle and thread; according to the custom of former times, and the doctrine of rebusses. Egglesfield, however, is pure Saxon and not French; and the founder of Queen's College was an Englishman, born in Cumberland.

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He was, however, confessor to a queen of Dutch extraction, daughter to the Earl of Hainault and Holland; a circumstance which probably gave rise to the false derivation of his name.

Now prince Henry having been a student in that college, this strange garment was probably designed by him to express his academical character, if it was not indeed his academical habit, and such as was then worn by the sons of noblemen. In either case it was the properest habit he could appear in, his father being at that time greatly apprehensive of some trouble, from his active and ambitious temper, and afraid of his taking the crown from him, as he did at last; and the habit of a scholar was so very different from that of a soldier, in those days, that nothing could better efface the impressions the king had received against him, than this silent declaration of his attachment to literature, and renunciation of the sword.

Yours, &c.

G. S. GREEN.

1756, *March.*

VII. The Proclamation for celebrating the Coronation and establishing a Court of Claims, with the Claims made out before the Coronation of JAMES II.

PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE REX.

WHEREAS we have resolved, by the favour and blessing of Almighty God, to celebrate the solemnity of our royal coronation upon Tuesday the twenty-second day of September next, at our palace at Westminster; and forasmuch as by ancient customs and usages, as also in regard of divers tenures of sundry manors, lands, and other hereditaments, many of our loving subjects do claim, and are bound to do and perform divers several services on the said day, and at the time of the coronation, as, in times precedent, their ancestors, and those from whom they claim, have done and performed at the coronation of our famous progenitors and predecessors: we therefore, out of our princely care for the preservation of the lawful rights and inheritances of our loving subjects, whom it may concern, have thought fit to give notice of, and publish our resolutions therein; and do hereby give notice of, and publish the same accordingly:

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and we do hereby further signify, that by our commission under our great seal of Great Britain, we have appointed and authorized our most dearly-beloved brother and counsellor Edward duke of York [with all the other members of the privy-council] or any five or more of them, to receive, hear, and determine, the petitions and claims which shall be to them exhibited by any of our loving subjects in this behalf: and we shall appoint our said commissioners, for that purpose, to sit in the painted chamber of our palace at Westminster, upon Tuesday the twenty-first day of this instant July, at ten of the clock in the forenoon of the same day, and, from time to time, to adjourn, as to them shall seem meet, for the execution of our said commission, which we do thus publish, to the intent that all such persons, whom it may any ways concern, may know when and where to give their attendance for the exhibiting of their petitions and claims, concerning the services before-mentioned to be done and performed unto us at our said coronation: and we do hereby signify unto all and every of our subjects, whom it may concern, that our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby strictly charge all persons, of what rank or quality soever they be, who either upon our letters to them directed, or by reason of their offices or tenures, or otherwise, are to do any service at the said day or time of our coronation, that they do duly give their attendance accordingly, in all respects furnished and appointed as to so great a solemnity appertaineth, and answerable to the dignities and places which every one of them respectively holdeth and enjoyeth; and of this they or any of them, are not to fail, as they will answer the contrary at their perils, unless upon special reasons by ourself, under our hand, to be allowed, we shall dispense with any of their services or attendances.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the 8th day of July, 1761, in the first year of our reign.

In order more particularly to explain to our readers the nature of those claims, we have here marked the claims of several persons to do service at the coronation of the late king James II. and his queen, in 1683.

1. THE lord great chamberlain of England claimed at the said coronation, to carry the king his shirt and clothes the morning of the coronation, and with the lord chamberlain to dress the king. To have forty yards of crimson velvet for a robe, also the king's bed and bedding, and furniture of his

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chamber where he lay the night before, with his wearing apparel and night-gown: also to serve the king with water, before and after dinner, and to have the basons and towels, and cup of assay. Allowed, except the cup of assay. He received the forty yards of velvet, and the rest of the fees were compounded for 200l.

2. The earl of Derby counterclaimed the office of lord great chamberlain, with the fees, &c. but was not allowed.

3. The king's champion claimed his office as lord of Scrivelsby manor in Lincolnshire, to perform the said office, and to have a gold cup and cover, with the horse on which he rides, the saddle, armour, and furniture, and twenty yards of crimson sattin.—Allowed, except the said twenty yards of sattin.

4. The said office counterclaimed by another branch of the said family, but not allowed.

5. The lord of the manor of Lyston in Essex claimed to make wafers for the king and queen, and serve them up to their table, to have all the instruments of silver and other metal, used about the same, with the linen, and certain proportions of ingredients, and other necessaries and liveries for himself and two men.—Allowed, and the service, with his consent, performed by the king's officers, and the fees compounded for 30l.

6. The lord mayor and citizens of London claimed to serve the king with wine after dinner, in a gold cup, and to have the same cup and cover for his fee, and with twelve other citizens, by them appointed, to assist the chief butler of England in the butlership, and to have a table on the left hand of the hall. Not allowed in the reign of king James, because the liberties of the city were then seized into the king's hands; but yet they executed the office, *ex gratia*, and dined in the hall, and had a gold cup for their fee.

7. The said lord mayor and citizens of London claimed to serve the queen in like manner; and were only disallowed, at that time, for the same reason.

8. The mayor and burgesses of Oxford, by charter, claim to serve in the office of butlership to the king with the citizens of London, with all fees thereunto belonging.—Allowed, and to have three maple cups for their fee; and also, *ex gratia regis*, a large gilt bowl and cover.

9. The lord of the manor of Bardolf, in Addington, Surrey, claimed to find a man to make a mess of grout in the king's kitchen, and therefore praying, that the king's master cook might perform that service.—Allowed, and the said lord of the manor brought it up to the king's table.

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10. The lord of the manor of Ilmer in Bucks, claimed to be marshal, surveyor, and conservator of his majesty's hawks in England, with divers fees, and the nomination of under officers.—Not allowed, because not respecting the coronation, but left to take his course at law, if he thought fit.

11. The lord of the manor of Little Wilden, who at that time was also seized of the bailiwicks of keeper of the king's buckhounds, claimed to be keeper and master of the same, and to keep twenty-four buckhounds, and sixteen harriers, and to have certain fees and liveries for himself and servants.—Disallowed, for the same reason as the former, but left to take his course at law.

12. The master of the king's great wardrobe, claimed to receive from his deputy a pall of cloth of gold, and to carry it to the altar for the king to offer, and that his deputy should attend near garter king of arms, in a robe of scarlet cloth, with a gold crown embroidered on the left sleeve. Not allowed, but left to take his course at law if he thought fit.

13. The clerk of the great wardrobe, claimed to bring a rich pall of cloth of gold, to be held over the king's head, while he is anointed, as also the armil of cloth of tissue, and to attend near garter king of arms, in a robe of scarlet cloth, with a crown embroidered on the left sleeve.—Not allowed, but left to take his course at law, if he thought fit.

14. The master of the horse to the king, claimed to attend at the coronation as serjeant of the silver scullery, and to have all the silver dishes and plates served on that day to the king's table, with the fees thereto belonging, and to take assay of the king's meat at the kitchen dresser bar.—Not allowed, because not claimed heretofore; but left to make application to the king; who was pleased to allow the said service and fees, as the duke of Albemarle enjoyed them on the coronation of king Charles II. by virtue of the same post.

15. The lord of the manor of Nether Bilsington, Kent, claimed to present the king with three maple cups, by himself or deputy.—Allowed.

16. The lord of the manor and hundred of Wynfred, Dorset, claimed to serve the king with water for his hands, and to have the bason and ewer for his fee.—Not allowed, but left to make his application to the king, if he thought fit.

17. The duke of Norfolk, as the first earl of England, claimed to redeem the sword offered by the king at the

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altar, and to carry it before his majesty, in his return to his palace, and reservation of other rights and dignities, with fees, &c.

18. And also, as earl of Surrey, claimed to carry the second sword before the king, with all privileges and dignities thereto belonging: neither of which allowed, the claims not being made out, and the same being disallowed at the last coronation.

19. The earl of Exeter,
20. Sir George Blundel,
21. Thomas Snaggs,
} As seised of several parts of the barony of Bedford, respectively claimed to execute the office of almoner; and as the fees of that office, to have the silver alms-bason, and the distribution of all the silver therein, and of the cloth spread for their majesties to walk on; as also the fine linen towel, a tun of wine, &c.—On reference to the king to appoint which of them he pleased, the earl was appointed, *pro hac vice*, with a *salvo jure* to the other two; but the silver dish, and the cloth from the throne in Westminster-hall to the west door of the Abbey-church, were only allowed.

22. The dean and chapter of Westminster claimed to instruct the king in the rites and ceremonies used at the coronation; to assist the archbishop in divine service; to have the custody of the coronation robes; to have robes for the dean and his three chaplains, and for sixteen ministers of the said church; the royal habits put off in the church, the several oblations, furniture of the church, canopy, staves and bells, and the cloth on which their majesties walk from the west door of the church to the theatre, &c.—Allowed, except the custody of the regalia; and the fees referred to the king's pleasure.

23. The church-wardens of St. Margaret's Westminster, claimed to have the cloth (lying in their parish) whereon the king goes in procession, for the use of the poor.

24. The vicar and church-wardens of St. Martin's in the Fields, claimed a share of the said cloth, for their poor.—Which claims were only read and not admitted.

25. The earl marshal of England claimed to appease the debates that might arise in the king's house on this day; to keep the doors of the same, and of the abbey, &c. and to dispose of the places to the nobles, &c. with all fees belonging thereto.—Disallowed, as unprecedented; and several of the particulars being counterclaimed by the lord great chamberlain; but with a *salvo jure*, to the said earl marshal.

26. The lord of the manor of Ashlee, Norfolk, claimed to perform the office of the napery, and to have all the table-

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linen, when taken away.—Not allowed, because that he had not his evidence ready to make it out, but with a *salvo jure.*

27. The earl of Derby, as seised in fee of the isle and castle of Pelham, and dominion of Man, claimed to present the king with two falcons on this day. Which was allowed, and the falcons presented accordingly.

28. The earl of Kent claimed to carry the great spurs before the king; but not being made out, was not allowed.

29. The same counterclaimed by the lord de Grey of Thyn, and allowed.

30. The same counterclaimed by the duke of Norfolk, as earl of Surrey; but disallowed for want of evidence, and because it was not admitted at the preceding coronation.

31. The barons of the cinque ports claimed to carry the canopy over the king, and to have the same, with the staves and bells for their fees, and to dine in the hall on the king's right hand.—Allowed.

32. The lord of the manor of Scoulton, alias Bourdelies, Norfolk, claimed to be chief larderer; and to have for his fees the provisions remaining after dinner in the larder. Which office and fees, as also that of caterer, were likewise,

33. Counterclaimed by the lord of the manor of Eston at the Mount, Essex; and on reference to the king, it appearing that other manors were also severally held by the same service, the former was appointed *pro hac vice*, with a *salvo jure* to the other.

34. The lord of the manor of Wirksop, Nottingham, claimed to find the king a right-hand glove, and to support the king's right arm while he holds the sceptre.—Allowed.

35. Bishops of Durham, and Bath and Wells, claimed to support the king in the procession.—Allowed; the king having graciously consented thereto; and the bishops of London and Winchester being appointed to support the queen.

36. The lord of the manor of Fyngrith, Essex, claimed to be chamberlain to the queen for the day, and to have the queen's bed and furniture, the basons, &c. belonging to the office; and to have a clerk in the exchequer to demand and receive the queen's gold, &c.—Disallowed, because not made out; but left to prosecute it at law, if he thought fit.

37. The lord of the manor of Great Wymondley, Hertfordshire, claimed (as chief cup-bearer) to serve the king with the first cup of silver gilt, at dinner, and to have the cup for his fee.—Allowed.

38. The lord of the manor of Heydon, Essex, claimed to

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hold the bason and ewer to the king, by virtue of one moiety, and the towel by virtue of another moiety of the said manor, when the king washes before dinner.—Allowed, as to the towel only.

39. The duke of Norfolk, as earl of Arundel, and lord of Kenninghall manor, Norfolk, claimed to perform by deputy the office of chief butler of England, and to have for his fees the best gold cup and cover, with all the vessels and wine remaining under the bar, and all the pots and cups, except those of gold or silver, in the wine-cellar after dinner.—Allowed, with only the fee of the cup and ewer.

1761, *July.*

VIII. Origin of the Hugonots.

HUGO Aubrict, who by merit had gained the esteem of Charles V. of France, was invested with the dignity of provost of Paris when Charles VI. mounted the throne. He shewed himself worthy of that important post by the care which he took for the maintenance of good order, for the embellishment of the city, and for the convenience of its inhabitants. He had contributed to the wholesomeness of the air, and to the neatness of the streets, by means of subterraneous channels, of which he was the inventor. He had built many bridges, in order to facilitate the communication between various quarters of the city, and he employed on these different works the beggar, the idle, in a word, those unhappy wretches whom indigence and want of work rendered enemies to the state. Every thing manifested his distinguished zeal for the public good; but he had offended the university, and that ruined him; the students, most of them men grown, proud of their numbers, and of their privileges, frequently abandoned themselves to scandalous excesses. The provost, attentive to the public tranquillity, treated them with all the rigor that their repeated enormities deserved; he had ordered his serjeants to seize them wherever they committed disorders, and to confine them in the dungeons of the little Chatelet, which he had caused to be dug on purpose for them. The members of the university spared no pains to take the most cruel revenge on him; they made private inquiries into the morals of this rigid provost, and when they thought their proofs sufficient, they cited him before the ecclesiastical tribunal. At first, de-

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pending on the protection of the court, he despised their prosecution; but the credit of his adversaries prevailed over the favour of princes; he was arrested, and carried to the prison of the spiritual court, and on the evidence of some witnesses, (such as they were) condemned as a bad catholic, intemperate, debauched, as an encourager of women of dissolute lives, particularly of Jewesses, in short, as a Jew and a Heretic. He would have been burnt alive, if the court had not mitigated his sentence. He was obliged to mount a scaffold, and there bare-headed, and without a girdle, he was forced on his knees to ask pardon, in the presence of a croud of people. The rector, at the head of the university, assisted at this melancholy spectacle, and the bishop of Paris, dressed in his pontifical robes, publicly preached to the accused, and concluded with condemning him to end his days in a dungeon, with bread and water only, for his support. Hugo Aubrict was released the year after, by the same populace, who had joyfully assisted at his punishment.——It is from this provost of Paris that the Protestants have been called Hugonots, an injurious appellation used in France, to signify the enemies of the church.

1764, *June.*

IX. A particular and authentic account of the Escape of CHARLES EDWARD STUART, commonly called the Young Chevalier, after the Battle of Culloden.

THE battle of Culloden was fought on the 16th of April, 1746; and the young chevalier having his horse shot through the neck with a musket ball, and seeing the rout among his troops universal and irretrievable, was persuaded to provide for his own safety as well as he could. He was soon mounted on a fresh horse, and, accompanied by a few chosen friends,* he retreated by Tordurock, a village about nine miles from Inverness, to Aberardar, about three miles farther in Mackintosh's country; thence to Faroline, five

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* Sir Thomas Sheridan; his two aid-de-camps, sir David Murray, and Mr. Alexander Macleod; captain O'Sullivan, and captain O'Neille, two Irish gentlemen, who had the French king's commission; Mr. John Hay, one of his secretaries; with these were Edward Bourk, a servant of Macleod; a servant of Mr. Hay, and one Allan Macdonald.

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miles farther in Lovat's country; and thence to Gortulaig, one mile farther, a house of Mr. Fraser, steward to lord Lovat. At this place he found lord Lovat himself, who exhorted him most pathetically to keep up his courage, and remember his ancestor Robert de Bruce, who, after losing eleven battles, by winning the twelfth, recovered the kingdom. On the other hand, O'Sullivan, and O'Neille, took him aside, and begged him to listen to no such insinuations.

This was certainly the best advice, and he followed it; for, about ten at night, he set forward, and reached Invergary about five o'clock the next morning. Invergary was a castle belonging to Macdonald of Glengary, which was not then burnt, nor was its owner, who afterwards suffered long confinement in Edinburgh Castle, yet taken prisoner; but, the family being absent, it could afford no entertainment. Bourk, however, was fortunate enough to catch a brace of salmon early in the forenoon, which furnished the little company with a meal. After their repast, a consultation was held, and it was thought proper that the adventurer should proceed with only O'Sullivan, Allan Macdonald, and Bourk, for a guide: it was farther thought necessary that he should change clothes with Bourk, which was accordingly done; and setting out about two o'clock they reached Donald Cameron's at Glenpean, about nine at night: being exhausted with fatigue, and not having closed his eyes for more than eight and forty hours, he threw himself upon a bed in his clothes, and fell asleep; he awaked early in the morning greatly refreshed, and continued his course on foot, through places that perhaps had never before been trodden, and over mountains which would have been inaccessible to all who were not in equal danger, and at length arrived at the Glen of Morar. After a short respite, he proceeded to Boredale in Arisaig, a country of Clanranald's, where he rested several days, giving and getting intelligence. At this place he was again joined by captain O'Neille, who acquainted him, that there was not the least hope of re-assembling his men, and that he had nothing left but to get out of the country. With this view, he determined to move towards the western isles hoping there to find a ship to carry him abroad, more easily than on the continent.

At a place called Gualtergil, in the isle of Sky, there lived an old man, one Donald Macleod, who was a good pilot, and thought to be trusty; this man therefore was sent for, and the adventurer committing himself to him, he engaged to conduct him through the isles to a place of safety.

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Accordingly, an eight oared barge was procured, and on the 26th of April, in the dusk of the evening, the chief, with O'Neille, O'Sullivan, Allan Macdonald, Bourk, who officiated as boatman, and the old pilot, embarked at Lochnannaugh, in Boredale, the very place where he first landed in Scotland.

By the time they had put off from shore it was become quite dark; and in a short time they were overtaken by a violent storm of wind and rain: their boat had no covering, and they had neither light nor compass on board, so that they drove all night they knew not whither, the sea every moment breaking over them, and the boat being in equal danger of sinking and oversetting; it happened, however, that when the day broke, the storm subsided, and they discovered, with great joy, a promontory, called Rossinish, in the east part of Benbicula, a small island belonging to Clanranald, and lying between north and south Vist. Here they soon landed in safety, and with all possible expedition made a fire, the little crew being half perished with cold.

In the mean time, the duke of Cumberland supposing, either from conjecture or intelligence, that the fugitive had repaired to the western isles, sent general Campbell in pursuit of him, who went immediately to St. Kilda, where he might probably have found him, if it had not been for the storm; so that what appeared to be their danger was their security. The general soon found that there was nobody at St. Kilda but the inhabitants, who had no other commerce with the world than the payment of their rent once a year in Solan goose feathers, and who did not know that such a being as Campbell sought existed in the world.

While this was doing, the adventurer lay weather-bound at Benbicula; but, after two days and two nights, he and his attendants set sail again, on the 29th, for Stornway, the chief port of Lewis, which is the northernmost of the western isles; it lies about fourteen leagues north of Benbicula, and belongs to Seafort. Soon after they put to sea, they were overtaken by another storm, which forced them, the next morning, into Scalpay, or Glass, an island belonging to the laird of Macleod, and passing for shipwrecked merchants, were hospitably entertained by Donald Campbell, the farmer of the island.

On the first of May, a boat was procured, and Macleod, the old pilot, dispatched to Stornway, to freight a vessel for the Orkneys: in two days he sent notice that the vessel was ready, and the chief immediately put to sea, and on the fourth landed at Loch Sheffort; from whence, with

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O'Sullivan, O'Neille, and Bourk the guide, Allan Macdonald, taking his leave for South Vist, they proceeded on foot for Stornway. Having travelled, or rather wandered through the hills all night, they arrived, on the fifth at noon, wet and weary, at the point of Arinish, about half a mile S. E. of Stornway. Here Macleod, their pilot, was sent for from Stornway, who brought them some refreshments, and then conducted them to lady Kildun's, a Mackenzie, at Arinish, to wait till all should be ready for an embarkation. But the next morning, upon Macleod's return to Stornway, he found, to his inexpressible confusion and surprize, all the people up in arms, and an embargo laid upon all shipping.

His servant, it seems, had got drunk in his absence, and discovered for whom the ship had been hired. The whole project being therefore totally ruined, the unhappy fugitive went hastily from lady Kildun's, without knowing what course to take: it was at first proposed to sail for the Orkneys, in the boat they had; but this the crew, now reduced to two, did not dare to attempt, and it was then resolved that they should steer southward, along the coast, in hopes of succeeding better elsewhere.

They were, however, soon driven upon a desert island, called Evirn, or Iffurt; it lies about twelve miles from Stornway, and is not more than half a mile over each way. They found, however, some fishermen upon it, who, taking the wanderers for a press-gang, ran away, and took to their boat with great precipitation, leaving all their fish behind them. Finding, by this means, a good dinner where they least expected it, the chief proposed to leave money in its place; but being told, that this piece of honesty might raise a dangerous suspicion, he was persuaded to take his meal at free cost.

In this island, the weather being very tempestuous, they subsisted some days upon some fish which they found curing, and some shell fish which at low water they picked up on the beach. This was bad board, but they had worse lodging; for, upon the whole island, there was no trace of human dwelling, except one wretched hovel, of which the walls only were standing; within these walls, therefore, they lay down at night upon the bare ground, and spread a sail, over them by way of canopy.

In the morning of the tenth, the weather being more favourable, they embarked for the Harries, and touched at the hospitable farmer's at Scalpay, when they offered money in vain for a better boat.

As no time was to be lost, they put to sea again in their

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own; but it happened, whether by inattention, the situation of the coast, or the haziness of the weather, they were surprized by an English man of war, who immediately gave them chase; they rowed away with all their might, and the vessel continued to gain upon them, during a chase of three leagues, so that she was once within two musquet shot. The adventurer encouraged his men by the promise of a reward if they escaped, but declared at the same time, that he would not be taken alive; they therefore redoubled their efforts, and the wind suddenly dying away, the man of war was becalmed, and the skiff was soon out of sight. Having thus escaped once more, when it was but just possible to escape, they got in among the rocks at the point of Roudil, an island in the Harries, belonging to Macleod, and keeping close along the shore, at length, landed upon the island of Loch Sibert, not far from the promontory in Benbicula, where they had been forced on shore by the storm that overtook them soon after their first embarkation at Loch Nannaugh.

It being low water when they came on shore, the chief assisted the boatman to fill a keg with partans, or sea crabs, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Macleod, their pilot, insisted upon carrying it as his share of the baggage.

Having wandered about two miles inland, without seeing the least appearance of a house, they at last lighted on a little hovel, the entrance of which, was so low, that the adventurer was forced to creep into it on his hands and knees; Bourk, their guide, endeavoured to remedy the inconvenience by sinking the threshold, which, however, made but a very little difference. In this hiding place, he continued several days, and Clanranald, the lord of Benbicula, and his lady, hearing where he was, came to see him, and promised him all the sevice in their power.

By their advice, he retired sixteen miles farther up the country, near the mountain of Corrodale in South Vist; where he arrived under the conduct of Ranald Macdonald on the sixteenth.

Macleod, their pilot, had been sent off the day before to the continent, with letters to Lochiel and Murray, to procure three articles of great importance; intelligence, money, and brandy. After an absence of eighteen days, he returned with some intelligence, and two anchors of brandy, but no money; Murray whom he found with Lochiel, at the head of Loch Argaig, declaring that he could spare none, having only sixty louis d'ors for himself. Macleod was glad to find his master in a better dwelling than he had

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left him, though it was no better than two cow-hides, supported by four moveable pillars of wood.

Having continued here about a month, during which time, he endeavoured to amuse himself by hunting, fowling, and fishing, exercises, which if they did not much suspend his anxiety, greatly contributed to the subsistence of his company. But hearing that some militia were landed in pursuit of him at Eriska, a little island between Barra and South Vist; he found it necessary to shift the scene: on the fourteenth of June, therefore, with O'Neille, O'Sullivan, Bourk the guide, and Macleod the pilot, he put once more to sea, and landed at Ovia, or Fovaya, a small island between South Vist, and Benbicula.

Here he was hospitably entertained four days by Ranald Macdonald, who happened to be upon the island grazing his cattle.

On the eighteenth, he set out for Rossinigsh, the promontory, where he had landed after his first embarkation, but perceiving that boats, with militia on board, were continually cruising round it, he embarked, in order to return to Glen Corodale in South Vist, and after being forced out of his way by a storm, and obliged to take shelter from the winds and waves, in the cleft of a rock, he at last arrived at Celiestiella in South Vist, and kept moving, to and again, between that place and Loch Boisdale, according to the motions and appearances of his various enemies.

While he was thus shifting his ground, and pressed on different sides, he received intelligence, that captain Caroline Scot was landed at Kilbride within two miles of him. Upon this, he immediately dismissed all his associates, except O'Neille, with whom he repaired to the top of a mountain, where they passed the night. In the morning he learnt, that general Campbell was at Bernera, a small island between North Vist and the Harries. His distress and danger were now very great; he was hemmed in between the forces, that were on both the landsides of him, and it was impossible to escape by sea, for Macleod the pilot, being deserted by the boatmen, on his dismission, had been obliged to sink it. In this dilemma O'Neille thought of applying to Miss Flora Macdonald, whom he knew to be then at Milton, her brother's house in South Vist, whither she had lately come from the Isle of Sky, on a visit. He accordingly went to Milton, leaving his friend, who did not dare to quit his hiding place, behind, and telling the lady his situation, urged her to go to him. To this, at length

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convinced of the necessity, she consented, taking with her only one Mackechan as a servant.

Miss Flora being conducted by O'Neille to the forlorn fugitive, it was agreed that she should procure him a female dress, and, in that disguise, carry him out of the country as her maid servant.

In prosecution of this plan, she set out, on the 21st of June, for Clanranald's, where she hoped to procure such apparel as would be necessary for the execution of it; but having no passports, she, and her servant Mackechan, were made prisoners by a party of the militia.

The lady desiring to see their officer, was told he was absent, and would not be with them till the next morning: this was an unfortunate delay, but patience was the only remedy. In the morning the officer arrived, and Miss Macdonald was agreeably surprized to find that it was Hugh Macdonald of Armadale, her father-in-law. Of him she soon procured not only her discharge, but the passports that would be necessary in the prosecution of her scheme: one for herself, one for Mackechan, and one for Betty Bourk, the name to be assumed by the adventurer. She also prevailed upon him to give her a letter for her mother, recommending Betty as an excellent spinner, knowing that her mother was in great want of such a person.

Macdonald accordingly, wrote the following letter to his wife:

"I have sent your daughter from this country, lest she should be frighted by the troops lying here. She has got with her one Betty Bourk, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinner. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spins all your lint, or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Mackechan along with your daughter, and Betty Bourk to take care of them.

I am your dutiful husband,
HUGH MACDONALD."

Thus Miss Flora's having been stopped by the militia, proved a very fortunate accident, and having obtained all she desired, she proceeded to Clanranald's, where she communicated her design to the lady, whom she found ready to do all in her power to promote it. Several days were spent in preparations, and in receiving and returning messages, by the trusty O'Neille.

On the 27th of June, all things being ready, a boat was

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procured, and Miss Flora Macdonald, lady Clanranald, and honest Mackechan, were conducted by O'Neille to his friend's hiding place, being about eight miles distant; he received them with an impatience and joy suitable to the occasion, and they congratulated themselves upon the prospect of being soon out of danger; but, while supper was preparing, a servant arrived, out of breath, with intelligence that an advanced party of the Campbells, under captain Ferguson, were within two miles of them.

This, at once, put an end to their repast, and they all hurried to the boat in which they escaped to a farther point, where they passed the night without farther alarm.

But the next morning, the 28th, another servant came, in great haste, to lady Clanranald, and informed her that captain Ferguson was then at her house, and had passed the night in her bed. This made it absolutely necessary for her to return, in order to prevent inquiries where she was. When she arrived, Ferguson questioned her very strictly where she had been, but she gave him such answers as left him wholly in the dark.

As soon as lady Clanranald was gone, Miss Flora told her ward that no time was to be lost; he therefore put on his female attire, and they repaired to the water side, where a boat lay ready; O'Neille earnestly desired to accompany them, but the lady's prudence got the better of his importunity. Betty Bourk then, Miss Flora, and Mackechan, being come to the water side, it was thought adviseable that they should not embark till it was night. They therefore made themselves a little fire, on a piece of the rock, as well to warm as to dry themselves, but they had scarcely got round it before the approach of four wherries, full of armed men, obliged them to extinguish it in all haste, and hide themselves, by squatting down in the heath, till the enemy was gone by.

Having escaped this danger, they embarked, about eight o'clock in the evening, under a serene sky, but the night proved tempestuous, and drove them out of their course, so that in the morning, when the wind abated, the boatmen, having no compass, knew not how to steer; at last, however, they discovered the point of Waternish, on the west corner of the Isle of Sky, and attempted to land, but, upon approaching the shore, they found the place possessed by a body of forces, and saw three boats, or yawls, upon the strand. They bore away, therefore, with all speed, and, though fired at to bring to, escaped a pursuit.

On Sunday, the 29th, in the forenoon, they landed at

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Kilbridge in Totternish, about twelve miles north from Waternish; they went on shore just at the foot of the garden belonging to a seat of sir Alexander Macdonald, called Monggestot, and Miss Flora leaving Betty Bourk in the boat, went up with her servant to the house. Sir Alexander was absent, and she found his lady, and a military officer, who was in quest of her charge. The officer asked her many questions, which she evaded as well as she could, and, at last, found an opportunity to acquaint lady Macdonald with the adventurer's situation. Her ladyship was somewhat at a loss how to act in so critical a juncture, but having, by great accident, Mr. Macdonald of Kingsborrow, a relation of sir Alexander, and his factor, with her in the house, she consulted him, and they agreed to send immediately for a friend, Mr. Donald Roy Macdonald, who was at a surgeon's in the neighbourhood, under cure of a wound which he had received at Culloden, in his foot.

When Roy Macdonald came, it was agreed that Macdonald should conduct the wanderer that night to Port Rey, by way of Kingsborrow, and put him under the protection of the old laird of Rasay; in consequence of this resolution, Roy Macdonald was dispatched, to give the lord of Rasay notice; and Mackechan was sent to their charge, who was lurking near the boat on the shore, to acquaint him with the scheme that had been concerted for his preservation, and to direct him to the back of a certain hill, about a mile distant, where he was to wait for his conductor.

These steps being taken, and the boat and boatmen discharged, Macdonald found his ward at the place appointed, and after he had taken some refreshment which Macdonald brought him, on the top of a rock, they set forward.

In their walk they were joined by some country people who were coming from kirk; the awkward appearance of poor Betty Bourk seemed strangely to excite their curiosity; and they asked so many questions, that Macdonald was very desirous to get rid of them: this however was no easy matter, till at last he said, "O sirs, cannot you let alone talking of worldly affairs on the Sabbath, and have patience till another day?" The simple and honest-hearted peasants were struck with the reproof, and immediately retired.

The travellers were soon after overtaken by Miss Flora and her servant, on horseback, who had also been joined by some acquaintances on the road. One of the strangers could not forbear making observations upon the long strides and masculine demeanour of the great tawdry woman that

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was walking with Macdonald; and Miss Flora, being under great apprehensions for the effects of farther travelling together, urged her company to mend their pace, upon pretence that they would be benighted: this artifice succeeded, and the riders soon left the two travellers on foot out of sight.

They arrived at Kingsborrow, Macdonald's seat, about eleven at night, having walked seven miles of their journey in constant rain; and Miss Macdonald having given her company the slip, arrived nearly at the same time by a way farther about.

The wife of Macdonald, called lady Kingsborrow, who was going to bed, immediately dressed herself again, and ordered a supper. Betty Bourk eat heartily, smoaked a pipe, and went to bed.

When lady Kingsborrow was alone with Miss Flora, and had heard Betty Bourk's adventures, she expressed great regret at finding that the boatmen had been dismissed; and observed, very justly, that they ought to have been detained at least till the fugitive had got farther from his pursuers. As it was thought probable that these boatmen might discover the secret of his disguise, he was advised next morning to lay it by: he readily consented; but as it was necessary for the servants, who took him for a woman, to see him depart in his woman's dress, a suit of man's apparel was carried to the top of a hill in a neighbouring wood, whither he repeared to put it on.

The female dress was concealed in a bush, and afterwards, upon the alarm of a search, burnt. Betty having now again changed her sex, proceeded with Mackechan, and Macdonald's cow-boy, about eleven years old, named Macquen, who was to be guide to Portsey, distant seven long Scotch miles, where he arrived safe, but very wet.

It was fortunate for him, that he performed this journey without detection; yet it would have been more fortunate if he had continued hidden where he parted with his faithful friend O'Neille; for O'Neille, repairing to South Vist, met with O'Sullivan there, and two days after a French cutter, with 120 armed men, arrived to carry off the adventurer to France. O'Sullivan immediately went on board, but O'Neille, with a noble and generous friendship, preferring the interest of him, whom he considered as his prince, to his own, went immediately in quest of him. After some search, he learnt that he had left the place two days before; and in the mean time, the cutter being discovered and pursued, took the benefit of a fair wind to sail for

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France. Poor O'Neille, being thus left behind, was soon after taken prisoner, and confined in Edinburgh Castle, till he was released on the cartel as a French officer.

At Portsey the adventurer Met with miss Flora and Roy Macdonald, who had been dispatched to apprise the old laird of Rasay of his guest. Rasay is an island at a little distance from Portsey; and though the laird was absent, a boat had been procured to carry the adventurer thither; and John and Murdoch, Macleod of Rasay's eldest and third sons, and one Malcolm Macleod, who had been in the rebellion, were come to Portsey to attend him. Here then he took leave of his friend Roy Macdonald, who could not conveniently travel, as the wound in his foot was not cured; and of Miss Flora Macdonald, whose sex would not permit her to accompany him farther without suspicion, and early on the first of July arrived at Glam in Rasay.

This place however they found in a condition very different from what they expected; for a party of the king's troops had burnt all the houses, to the number of several hundred, so that the wanderer had no better asylum than a miserable hut, in which he lay upon the bare ground, with only a whisp of heath for his pillow; nor had he any other provision than such as one of the gentlemen who could appear without danger, fetched him from time to time in the corner of his plaid.

After continuing here two days, he sailed, on the third of July, for Trotternish, in Sky, in the same small boat, which could not contain more than seven persons; he met with a storm, but he diverted the crew from their intention of putting back, by singing them an Highland song; and about eleven at night they landed at a place in Sky called Nicholson's Great Rock; the precipice was very steep, yet they made shift to clamber up, and after wandering about some time, at length took up their abode in a byre, or cow-house.

At seven o'clock the next morning, July 4th, he set out with only Malcolm Macleod, upon a new progress, as it was dangerous to continue long in a place, though he had yet no prospect of escaping to another country. It was now agreed that he should travel as Macleod's servant; and, the better to support the character, he carried the baggage, which consisted of two shirts, one pair of stockings, one pair of brogues, a bottle of brandy, some mouldy scraps of bread and cheese, and a three pint stone bottle of water.

In this manner they marched, till they came near Strath, in Mackinnon's country: here a new circumstance of dan-

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ger arose; for Mackinnon's men having been out in the adventurer's service, there was the greater risk of his being known. As a farther disguise, therefore, having exchanged his waistcoat for that of his supposed master, which was not so fine, he took off his wig, and putting it into his pocket, tied a dirty handkerchief about his head, and pulled his bonnet over it.

This was no sooner done, than it appeared to have been done in vain; for meeting three of Mackinnon's men, they instantly knew their late master, and burst into tears.

This mark of their affection prevented any apprehensions of treachery; and the travellers, pursuing their way through the worst roads in Scotland, after a stretch of four and twenty Highland miles, arrived at the house of John Mackinnon, Macleod's brother-in-law. The adventurer was in a miserable condition, having slipped up to the middle in a bog; he therefore stood greatly in need of refreshment. Mackinnon not being at home, he was introduced to his wife, Macleod's sister, as one Lewis Crew, his servant; and after he had been well washed and fed, he lay down to sleep.

Macleod, in the mean time, went in quest of Mackinnon, whom he soon found; and telling him whom he had got for a guest, dispatched him to hire a boat for the continent. Mackinnon applied to the old laird of Mackinnon, who undertook to bring his boat immediately.

The boat soon after arrived, with the laird and his lady, who brought what wine and provisions they could furnish. They all dined together in a cave; and it was thought proper that no person should proceed with the wanderer, but the old laird, and John Mackinnon, Macleod's brother-in-law: these three therefore went on board the boat, manned with four rowers, in the evening of the same 4th of July, having made this progress, slept, dined, and procured a boat, in little more than thirteen hours.

They landed safely about four o'clock the next morning, after a tempestuous voyage, on the south side of Loch Nevis, near Little Malloch, where they lay three nights in the open fields. On the morning of the fourth day, the old laird and one of the boatmen went in search of a cave, that might afford them better lodging; and in the mean time the adventurer, with John Mackinnon, and the three other boatmen, took the boat, and rowed up Loch Nevis, along the coast, upon the same errand; but upon doubling the point, they were surprized and alarmed by the appearance of another boat, with five of the Highland militia on board,

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whom they knew by the red crosses in their bonnets: the militia called to them to come up, but this was only a signal for them to stand away with all the speed they could make: the militia immediately pursued them; but the three rowers exerted themselves with such strength and dexterity, that they out-went them, and by turning another point, got out of sight. They thought it safest, however, to go on shore; and the adventurer, with John Mackinnon, and one of the boatmen, being safely landed, they ran to the top of a hill, where they saw the boat that had pursued them rowing back again: on this hill the poor hunted fugitive slept three hours, and then re-embarking, crossed the Loch to a little island about a mile from Scotus's house; from thence soon after they again passed the Loch, and landed at Malloch, where they met again with the old laird and the boatman that had been with him; and having refreshed themselves, they set out for Macdonald's of Morar, which was distant about eight miles.

They had not gone far before they discovered some people at a distance, who were coming towards the road; upon this the adventurer, with the assistance of John Mackinnon, took off his plaid, and folding it up, laid it upon his shoulders, with a knapsack upon it; and then tying a handkerchief about his head, walked behind his associates as a servant: in this disguise he passed unquestioned, and coming up to a shealing, or cow-house, they were refreshed with a draught of milk by Archibald Macdonald, grandson to Macdonald of Scotus; they then pursued their journey, and at another shealing procured a guide to Morar. When they came thither, they found Macdonald in a bothy, or hut, his house having been burnt: he received his guests as well as his situation would permit, and having conducted them to a cave, they slept ten hours. In the mean time, he went in quest of young Clanranald; but not finding him, it was resolved that the adventurer should set forward for Borodale's of Glen Biasdale, with only John Mackinnon and a boy, a son of Macdonald's, their host, for a guide. At Glen Biasdale they arrived before day, but found their friend's house burnt, and himself at a hut hard by. To this gentleman John resigned his charge, saying, "I have done my duty, do you do yours."

To this hut Glenaladale, a Macdonald of Clanranald's family, was sent for, who arrived about the 15th of June, and brought intelligence of Lochiel and others of the party. The adventurer proposed to go to Lochabar, where Lochiel was supposed to be; but as all the passes were closely

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guarded, this was deemed impracticable. Upon more particular inquiry, they found that the king's troops formed one entire line from Inverness to Fort Augustus, and from Fort Augustus to Fort William; and another from the head of Loch Arkaig cross all the avenues to Lochaber. The adventurer therefore determined to continue some time at Glen Biasdale; but in a few days he was alarmed by an account, that some intelligence having been obtained of his retreat, general Campbell was arrived with 400 men on one side of him, and captain Caroline Scot with 500 on the other; and that they were forming a circle round him at about two miles distant.

In this situation he was advised to attempt an escape to the braes of Glenmoriston immediately, and to sculk there, and in Lovat's country, till the passes should be opened; but as he was utterly unacquainted with the country, Donald Cameron of Glenpean was sent for to be his guide. Cameron returned with the messenger, and conducted his charge, accompanied by Glenaladale, in safety through the guards that were in the pass, though they were obliged to creep upon all fours, passing so close to the tents, that they heard the soldiers talking to each other, and could see them walking between them and the fires.

At a little distance from these tents they were obliged to pass over a mountain, and a small rivulet that issued from the precipice, and in gliding downward spread over its side, rendered the steep and pathless route which they took to descend it extremely slippery, it being a mixture of grass and heath. The night was now shut in, and the guide going foremost, his charge came next, and Glenaladale crept along at some distance behind. In this situation it happened that the adventurer's foot slipped, and rolling down the declivity, he would inevitably have been dashed to pieces, if Cameron, who was a little before him, had not catched hold of his arm with one hand, and with the other laid fast hold of the heath. In this situation, however, he found it impossible to continue long, for he that fell not being able to recover his legs, and he that held him, being unable long to sustain his weight, he would soon have been obliged either to quit his hold of the heath, and fall with him, or to let him fall by himself. Glenaladale was still behind, and knew nothing of what had happened; and Cameron feared, that, if he called out, his voice might be heard by some who were in search after him. In this dilemma, however, he at last resolved to call, as their only chance; and Glenaladale, alarmed by the cry, ran to their assistance, just in

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time to preserve them: he laid hold of the adventurer's other arm, and with great difficulty drew him up, and set him upon his feet.

The dangers before him, however, were scarce inferior to those he had escaped; he had no means of getting off by sea, and on the land-side he was hemmed in by a military line, consisting of twenty-seven little camps, which were called the chain; and this line it was therefore necessary for him to pass, as the only expedient to avoid being starved to death in his hiding place, or falling into the hands of those that sought him.

They set out on this perilous attempt after sun-set, and the night happened to be remarkably dark; when they came near the chain, which, notwithstanding the darkness, they could, as they had been long in it, discover at some distance, it was wisely proposed by Donald Cameron to pass it alone, and return again; for, said he, if I pass it in safety, you may venture to follow me the second time; and if I am taken, you may for the present escape. Cameron accordingly passed the chain alone, and returned; and his friend then safely passed it with him; but it was then necessary to walk a considerable way parallel to it, at a small distance, there being no other way to the place they were bound for. As it happened, however, they passed undiscovered, and about three o'clock in the morning, of July the 21st, they came to a place called Corriscorridill, near the head of Loch-Uirn, where, chusing a fastness, they took, such refreshment as could be had, which was only a slice of cheese covered with oatmeal, and a draught of water from the brook.

In this hold they stayed the whole day, and at eight o'clock in the evening, Cameron, knowing the way no farther, crept out with Glenaladale, to see if any body could be found who might be trusted as a guide the rest of the way. At this time the sun was not quite set; and they had gone but a very little way from their hiding-place, when they discovered it to be within cannon-shot of two small camps that made part of the chain, and saw some soldiers driving a few sheep together for slaughter: upon this discovery they threw themselves flat on the ground, and in that posture crept back to warn their friend of his danger; and they all three set out on a different course. Cameron soon after left him, and he pursued his course towards Glenmoriston, attended only by Glenaladale.

It happened, as they were making their way through the most unfrequented parts of the hills and moors, Glenaladale

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suddenly missed his purse; this was a dreadful stroke, for it contained forty guineas, which was their whole stock. After some consultation, it was determined that he should venture back to seek it, but that he should go alone, and that his friend should rest himself on an adjacent hill till his return.

The adventurer therefore sat down alone to wait the event, but he had not sat long, before he was alarmed by a party of soldiers, whom he saw advancing at a distance; he immediately stooped down, and concealed himself as well as he could, yet not so, but that he might have been seen by the soldiers, if they had looked wistfully that way, for he saw them very plainly pass by, and take the very rout that he and his guide would have taken, if the loss of the purse had not stopped them. When they were gone, it was some alleviation of that misfortune, to reflect that it had prevented a greater. In this dreary solitude, forlorn and desolate, his situation was endeared by the danger that he had escaped, and his mind was diverted from present evils by the apprehension of future. In a short time, however, Glenaladale returned, and by great good fortune had found his purse. They immediately continued their rout together, but were again obliged to change its direction.

By these accidents, the length and fatigue of their journey were greatly increased; however, they reached Glenmoriston on the 24th, but were almost famished, having been eight and forty hours without food. It happened that at this place Glenaladale found eight men who were fugitives from the rebel army, and who, the moment they saw their commander, knew him and wept. By these sharers of his fortune he was conducted to a natural cave, called Coiragoth, in the brae of Glen-moriston, where they refreshed him with the best provisions they had, and made him up a bed with fern and tops of heath. After his repast, he lay down, and soon fell asleep, not needing the murmurs of a fine transparent stream that glided through the cave by his bed side to lull him to repose. In this romantic habitation he continued three days, and then, being sufficiently refreshed, they removed two miles farther, to a place called Coirskreasch, where they took up their abode in a natural grotto, not less romantic than that they had left.

They mounted guard regularly every day, placed centry-posts at the head and foot of the Glen, and had a foraging party of two, to fetch in provisions in their own cautious way. It is greatly to the honour of these poor fellows, that though neither of them had a shilling in the world, yet they

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were proof against a reward of 30,000l. which they knew they might obtain by betraying their trust.

With these men, and his friend Glenaladale, the adventurer continued between the braes of Glen-moriston and Glen-strathferrar, till the guards were removed, and the passes opened. It was then generally believed that he was killed, a person having been killed who was taken for him; and the guards after that remitted their vigilance.

On the 14th of August he went with his new retinue to the seat of Lochiel, at Achnasnal, on the side of Loch Arkaig, two miles from Achnacarie in Lochabar. They brought no provisions with them, expecting to be better provided in that country; but, to their unspeakable disappointment and distress, they found the seat burnt, and the cattle driven away. Here then they remained some time, looking upon each other with a dejection and despair which kept them silent, and which indeed no words could express.

At last one of them happened to see a single hart, at which he took aim, and fortunately shot. On this, without bread or salt, they made an eager and hasty meal, as soon as it was possible to get it ready.

From this place one of the company went in search of Lochiel, at the very time when Lochiel had sent in search of the adventurer. Lochiel's messenger found him in a hut, built on purpose for his use, between Achnasnal and Loch Arkaig: he was without shoe or stocking, had a long beard, a dirty shirt, an old black kelt coat, a plaid and philibeg, with a pistol and dirk by his side; but chearful, says the writer of this narrative, and in good health.

When he heard that Lochiel was safe, he thrice gave solemn thanks to God, and proposed going immediately to him; but understanding that there was a rumour of his having passed Creyarock, with Lochiel and thirty men, they rightly judged that it might occasion a search in the country they were to pass through, and therefore resolved to stay some time longer where they were; and Glenaladale was dispatched to look out for ships on the west coast; and the Glen-moriston men, whose services were no longer wanted, were dismissed.

In this place he was joined by the sons of Cameron of Cluns, Mr. John Cameron, an itinerant preacher; captain Macraw, of Glengary's regiment, and a few others: with this company he continued moving about, between three different huts, till about the 28th of August.

As they were one day in the hut, which Cameron of Cluns had built for his family, after his house had been

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burnt, one of the children gave an alarm, that a party of the king's troops were in sight. The adventurer was then asleep, it being about eight o'clock in the morning, and the rest were thrown into great consternation; they waked him, however, and apprized him of the danger, upon which he called for his gun, assembled his few friends, examined their pieces; and having encouraged them, by a short exhortation, to sell their lives as dear as they could, he marched with them to a neighbouring hill, which commanded a prospect of Glenkingie, but no enemy was to be seen: two of the party were then dispatched to reconnoitre more closely, and it was resolved to go that night to the top of Mallantagart.

When the scouts had got to the strath of Cluns, the women told them that the party which had been seen, consisted of two hundred men of Loudon's regiment, under the command of captain Grant of Knockando, in Strath Spey; that they had carried off ten milch cows, which Cameron of Cluns had bought after the loss of his own; that they had found out one of the huts in which the adventurer had been hidden, and that they were gone to fetch Barrisdal's cattle to the camp.

Upon receiving this intelligence, the company and their chief removed from the braes of Glenkengie, to those of Achnacarie, wading through the water of Arkey up to mid thigh.

While they were at this place, the messenger who had been dispatched to Lochiel, returned, and brought it as his opinion, that the adventurer would be more safe among the hills between the braes of Badenoch and Athol, where he was skulking himself, than in his present situation, and advised him to go thither immediately. This advice was very pleasing, and the adventurer putting it in execution without delay, the two friends met to their unspeakable satisfaction, soon after.

About the twelfth of September, Mr. Cameron was sent southward to hire a ship to carry them off from the east coast. A ship was accordingly provided, and a messenger dispatched to give proper notice. But before his arrival, the two friends, who had been watching in the mean time on the west coast, received intelligence that two French ships waited to carry the adventurer off at Mordart.

He therefore sent round to all his friends, that were within reach, acquainting them with the opportunity, and set out himself for Mordart the same night.

He arrived on the nineteenth of September, 1746, and

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met several of his friends who arrived in time, regretting those who had not the same good fortune.

On the twentieth, having seen all the friends that were with him on board, he went on board himself. The vessel was called the Bellona, a Nantz privateer of St. Maloes, mounting thirty-two carriage, and twelve swivel guns, and carrying 340 men; and was brought thither by captain Harrow of Dillon's regiment, who had gone over to France for that purpose.

As soon as the adventurer was on board, the vessel set sail, and on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage, landed him and his friends safely at Roscou, about three leagues west of Morlaix, having narrowly escaped admiral Lestock's squadron, which was then on the coast of Bretagne.

The Bellona was taken the second of February following, by three men of war, the Eagle, the Edinburgh, and the Nottingham.

1765, *Aug. and Sep.*

X. Historical Anecdote from a Manuscript of Sir James Ware.

QUEEN Mary having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland; and to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Dr. Cole one of the commissioners. This doctor coming with the commission to Chester, on his journey, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who, in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloak-bag a leather box, saying unto him, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics in Ireland," calling the Protestants by that name. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words, but watching her convenient time, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opened the box, takes the commission out, and places in lieu thereof a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards wrapped up therein, the knave of clubs being placed uppermost. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly.

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The next day going to the water side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the seventh of October, 1558, at Dublin; then coming to the castle, the lord Fitz-Walter, being lord deputy, sent for him, to come before him and the privy council, who coming in, after he had made a speech, relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost, which not only startled the lord deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured him, he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the lord deputy made answer, "Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while." The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went away, and returned into England, and coming to the court, obtained another commission; but staying for a wind on the water side, news came to him that the queen was dead. And thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland.—See Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, or History of Ireland. Vol. II.

Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with this story, which was related to her by lord Fitz-Walter on his return to England, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, whose husband's name was Mattershead, and gave her a pension of 40l. during her life.—Harleian Mis.

1771, *January.*

XI. The Triumphs of the Muses: or, The grand Reception and Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge, in 1564, by Dr. Nicholas Robinson, Chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor.

ON Friday, August 4th, 1564, sir William Cecil,* secretary of state, and chancellor of the University of Cambridge, having a sore leg, came, with his lady, in a coach, and took up his lodging at the master's chamber of St. John's College where he was received with an oration; and, when he had reposed himself, he sent for the vice-chancellor (Dr. Hawford, master of Christ's College), and all the heads, and there at large discoursed with them, concerning his former instructions, relating to the manner of

* Created Lord Burleigh 1576.

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the queen's reception; adding, that "order should be diligently kept by all sorts, and that uniformity should be shewed in apparel and religion, and especially in sitting at the communion-table:" and so for that time, he dismissed the whole company, willing and commanding the beadles to wait upon the vice-chancellor homeward; for they would have remained with sir William, he being high chancellor. The University then presented him with two pair of gloves, a March-pain [a kind of biscuit], and two sugar-loaves, and so departed to their lodgings.

August 5, being Saturday, sir William Cecil, with the heads of colleges, rode to meet lord Robert Dudley,* at King's College, then called the court, all the beadles going before him bare-headed; and there lord Robert, after saluting sir William, first perused the queen's lodging, and afterwards the chapel, and the way that the queen should come to the same. Then, both taking their horses, they rode together to his lodging in Trinity College, where the master (Mr. Beaumont) received his honour with an oration, and so brought him through the whole society, being in number 204 persons, to the hall; from thence to his lodging, in the master's chamber, the doors and walls of which were hung with verses of his praises and welcoming: and the University gave to his honour two pair of gloves, a March-pain, and two sugar-loaves. Immediately, they both departed to St. John's College, where they were likewise received with an oration; and then they came to Mr. Secretary's chamber, where the vice-chancellor was asked to dinner.

Then the vice-chancellor, with the heads, repaired to the duke of Norfolk's lodging, which was at one Mr. Ray's, an alderman, (the duke being steward of the town) and gave to his grace two pair of gloves, a March-pain, and a sugar-loaf; and from thence to the earl of Suffolk, and presented him with a pair of gloves, and the like to the rest of the nobility.

August 5, being Saturday, at two o'clock, all the University, at the ringing of the University bell, assembled at King's College, and there, by the chancellor, vice-chancellor, proctors, and beadles, were set in order, and strictly charged, "every man to keep his place," and all others "not to mingle themselves with them."

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* Fifth son of the duke of Northumberland, created earl of Leicester in September following.

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First, at the corner of Queen's College, was set a great falling gate, with a lock and staple. From that place to King's College chapel west door, stood, on both sides, one by one, the whole University. From the gate stood the under graduates, then the bachelors of arts, then the bachelors of law and physic, then the regent masters of arts, then the non-regents and bachelors of divinity, and, lastly, the doctors in the several faculties, all in their respective habits and hoods. The senior doctor and the vice-chancellor stood on the lowest step of the west door, and by him the three beadles. The whole lane between King's and Queen's Colleges was strewed with rushes and flags, hanging in several places with coverlets and boughs, and many verses were fixed on the walls. St. Austin's Lane was boarded up; and, that no person might stand there but scholars, eight men were appointed as tip-staves; and the great south gate of King's College was kept by the queen's porter, with strict charge to suffer none but the queen's train to enter. King's College chapel was hung with fine tapestry, or arras, of the queen's, from the north vestry door, round by the communion table, to the south vestry door, and all that place strewed with rushes. The communion table and pulpit were also richly hung.

On the south side, about the middle, between the vestry door and the communion table, was hung a rich traverse of crimson velvet, for her majesty, with all other things appertaining. Also a fair closet, glazed towards the choir, was made in the middle of the rood-loft, for the queen, if she pleased to repose herself, which was not occupied.

The ante-chapel, not being paved, was strewed with rushes, and in the middle, a fair Turkey carpet was laid, and upon that a short form was set, covered with another carpet, with one cushion to kneel on, and another to lean on, of cloth of gold, on which was laid the bible in Latin. All these were of the queen's stuff.

On the part of the college, Dr. Baker, the provost, with all his society, were in copes, standing in a line, from the choir door to the north and south doors.

The bells, both of the colleges and of the town, were rung most part of the afternoon; and such churches as were negligent therein, were afterwards fined, some 8s. 4d. some more, some less. Care too was taken, that, on the queen's coming to the chapel door, all the bells should cease, that her majesty might hear the oration.

All things being thus ordered, the queen came from Mr. Worthington's house at Haslingfield, where she lay all

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night, by Grandchester; and, by the way, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, the bishop of Ely, (Dr. Cox) and several other honourable personages, met her majesty, and conveyed her towards Cambridge.

The mayor of the town (Robert Lane), with the aldermen, and all the burgesses, with the recorder, met her majesty a little above Newnham, on horseback, and there alighted and did their duties, and made, by the recorder, an oration in English.

Then the mayor delivered the mace, with a fair standing cup, which cost 19l. and twenty old angels in it, which her majesty received graciously, redelivering the mace to the mayor, who rode with it before her, and giving the cup, &c. to one of her footmen. Thus she came to Newnham-mills, where, being requested to change her horse, she alighted, and went into the miller's house, and then took horse and came forward.

Sir William Cecil all this time sat upon his horse, at the gate beyond Queen's College, and caused certain of the guard to keep the street, with strict orders to turn all the train into the town, except the lords and chief officers appointed to wait on her grace.

Then came the trumpeters, and by solemn blast, declared the queen's approach. Then followed the lords, in their order and degree, her almoner, the bishop of Rochester (Dr. Gheast), bare-headed, with the bishop of Ely; then garter king at arms, in his royal coat, with several serjeants at arms; then lord Hunsdon, with the sword, in a royal scabbard of goldsmith's work; and after him, the queen, with a great company of ladies and maids of honour, who, at the entering at Queen's College, was informed by Mr. Secretary, of what sort and degree the scholars and graduates were.

When her majesty was about the middle of the undergraduates, two came forth, and kneeled before her, and kissing their papers, exhibited them to her majesty, in which were contained two gratulatory orations, the one in verse, the other in prose, which her highness received, and gave them to one of the footmen. The like was done by the bachelors of arts and masters of arts; and so she was brought among the doctors, where all the lords and ladies alighted, and her majesty only remained on horseback.

She was dressed in a gown of black velvet, pinked, and had a caul upon her head set with pearls and precious stones, and a hat that was spangled with gold and a bush of feathers.

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The mayor of the town, riding before her majesty, bare-headed, stopped at King's College south gate, as acknowledging that he had no authority or jurisdiction in that place, of which he had been advertised by Mr. Secretary.

When her majesty came to the west door of the chapel, sir William Cecil kneeled down, and welcomed her, shewing her the order of the doctors: and the beadles, kneeling, kissed their staves, and then delivered them to Mr. Secretary, who likewise kissing the same, delivered them into the queen's hands, who could not well hold them all; and her grace gently and merrily redelivered them, "willing him, and other magistrates of the University, to minister justice uprightly, as she trusted they did, or she would take them into her own hands, and see to it;" adding, that "though the chancellor halted (his leg being sore, as above mentioned), yet she trusted that justice did not halt."

The queen was then informed, that the University, by their orator, would speak to her majesty; whereupon she inquired for the orator, and willed him to begin.

Then Mr. William Master, of King's College, orator, making his three reverences, kneeled down on the first step of the west door (which was, on the walls outward, covered with verses) and made his oration, in length almost half an hour, containing, in effect, as follows:

First, he "praised and extolled many and singular virtues set and planted in her majesty;" which her highness not acknowledging, bit her lips and fingers, and sometimes broke into passion, and these words, "*Non est veritas; et utinam*—" The orator praising virginity, she said to him, "God's blessing of thine heart; there continue."

Afterwards, he spoke of "the joy the University received from her presence;—of the antiquity of the University, which," he said, "is much older than those of Oxford and Paris; out of which, as from a most clear fountain, they sprung;—and of the foundation of most of the colleges, describing at large the whole state, foundation, and fortune of King's College;—and, lastly, dwelling on the praises of lord Robert and sir William Cecil, and humbly intreating her grace to hear them in all such things as the University, should intend or purpose for her majesty's entertainment."

When he had finished, the queen much commended him, and much marvelled that his memory did so well serve him, to repeat such divers and sundry matters, saying, that "she would answer him again in Latin, but for fear she should speak false Latin, and then they would laugh at her." But, in fine, in token of her contentment, she called him to her

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presence, and offered him her hand to kiss, requiring his name.

The queen then alighted from her horse, and, asking of what degree every doctor was, offered her hand to be kissed; and then four of the principal doctors, viz. the vice-chancellor (Dr. Hawford), the master of Peter-house (Dr. Perne), the master of C. C. C. (Dr. Porie), and Dr. Newton, bearing a canopy, she, under the same, entered into the chapel, and kneeled down at the place appointed, between the north and south doors, lady Strange bearing the train, and all the other ladies following.

Then the provost, vested in a rich cope, all of needle-work, (standing about four yards from the queen, towards the choir, in the middle of his society, kneeling on both sides) made his obeisance three times, coming towards her majesty. At last, kneeling at his stool, he kissed his hand, and pointed to the psalm, *Deus misereatur*, inquiring, "whether it would please her majesty to answer and say with him?" and, understanding that she would pray privately, he said that psalm, and after that a collect for the queen. Which done, the whole choir began in English, a song of gladness, and then went orderly into their stalls in the choir. The queen following, went into her traverse under the canopy, and admiring the beauty of the chapel, praised it above all others in her realm.

This song ended, the provost began the Te Deum in English, in his cope, which was solemnly sung in prick-song, the organ playing. After that, he began even-song, which was also solemnly sung. Which being ended, her majesty came out of her traverse, and went towards the lodge by a private way made through the east window of the north vestry door; and, as she went, she thanked God, "for having sent her to this University, where she, contrary to her expectation, was so well received, that she thought she could not be better."

During all the prayer-time, the lords, and other honourable persons, sat with the doctors in the high stalls; and, afterwards, between the doors and walls of the vestry, and the porch of the provost's lodge (now the court), stood the two proctors, and, by lord Robert, and Mr. Secretary, presented to her majesty, in the name of the University, four pair of Cambridge double gloves, edged and trimmed with two laces of fine gold, and six boxes of fine comfits, and other conceits, devised and provided at London, by Mr. Osborn of the Exchequer, late a scholar at Cambridge, at the appointment of Mr. Secretary, which she thankfully

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took, and so went to her chamber. And the beadles, receiving Mr. Chancellor at the same place, went before him with their staves to his lodging at St. John's, he riding on a little black nag.

Sunday in the morning, August 6th, the beadles brought the high chancellor, with their staves, into the court, viz. into the porch of the provost's place (for you must go at no time further, bearing up your staves); and then, by his commandment, warned all the doctors to give their attendance at the court at such times as the queen's majesty would go to church.

Morning prayer was done between seven and eight, unto which came divers of the lords; for whose better placing, none of the college but masters of arts sat in the higher stalls; and they next unto the vestry doors; the provost sitting hard by them; the bachelors of arts, priests, and clerks, in the lower seats, and the scholars on the forms of the choristers.

When matters were ended, every man repaired unto the court-gate, to wait upon the queen; all the doctors, saving the physicians, in their gowns of scarlet, as they went continually as long as the queen tarried, and so, accordingly as they were in degree and seniority, stood.

At the queen's coming, all the gentlemen, under the degree of knights, went first; then (by the gentleman-usher) were appointed the doctors; then the lords after them, with the gentleman-usher, and the serjeants at arms; immediately before the sword went the three beadles bearing their staves, as they customarily do; and so the queen, on foot, came up to the north door of the church, which was kept with yeomen of her guard; and so was the choir door also; to whom, by Mr. Secretary, commandment was given, that they should suffer none to enter, but the masters of arts coming in their habit, to the sermon *ad clerum*.

At the said church door four of the eldest doctors carried a canopy over her majesty to her travis; incontinently began the litany; and after that, Mr. Andrew Perne, D. D. ready in his doctor's cope, was, by the beadles, brought to the pulpit, which stood over against her travis, which her highness caused to be drawn open, and so, at the end of the stool, did sit down, and was seen of all the people at the time of the sermon.

The preacher, after he had done his duty, in craving leave by his three courtesies, and so kneeling, stood up, and began his matter, having for his theme, *Omnis anima subdita sit*

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potestatibus supereminentibus. About the midst of his sermon, her majesty sent the lord Hunsdon to will him to put on his cap, which he did unto the end. At which time, or before he could get out of the pulpit, by the lord chamberlain, she sent him word, "It was the first sermon that ever she heard in Latin; and she thought she should never hear a better." And then the choir sung, in prick-song, a song, which done, she departed to her palace by the secret way; the four doctors bearing the canopy as before, which the footmen, as their fee, claimed, and it was redeemed for 3l. 6s. 8d.

This day Mr. Chancellor called the vice-chancellor to dinner with the beadles, and afterwards sent to them five bucks, to bestow upon the University. He also sent one unto the beadles; also the lord Robert sent ten for that purpose.

At evening prayer, the company of King's College being informed that the queen's majesty would not come unto the same, began, and did sing; and then, being advertised that her grace was coming, staid. And when she was come unto her travis, by the secret way, they of new did begin the even-song, which ended, she departed back by the same way to the play *Aulularia Plauti.* For the hearing and playing whereof was made, by her highness's surveyor, and at her own cost, in the body of King's College church, a great stage containing the breadth of the church from the one side to the other, that the chapels might serve for houses. In the length it ran two of the lower chapels full, with the pillars of a side. Upon the south wall was hanged a cloth of state, with the appurtenances, and half path, for her majesty. In the rood loft, another stage for ladies and gentlewomen to stand on; and the two lower tables, under the said rood loft, were greatly enlarged and railed for the choice officers of the court.

There was, before her majesty's coming, made in King's College hall, a great stage. But because it was judged by divers to be too little and too close for her highness and her company, and also far from her lodging, it was taken down.

When all things were ready for the plays, the lord chamberlain, with Mr. Secretary, came in, bringing a multitude of the guard with them, having every man in his hand a torch-staff, for the lights of the play (for no other lights were occupied), and would not suffer any to stand upon the stage, save a very few upon the north side. And the guard stood upon the ground, by the stage side, holding their

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lights. From the choir door unto the stage was made as it were a bridge, railed on both sides, for the queen's grace to go to the stage, which was straightly kept.

At last her highness came, with certain lords, ladies, and gentlewomen; all the pensioners going on both sides, with torch-staves; but the sword was not carried, neither the maces; and so took her seat, and heard the play fully, which was played by certain selected persons, chosen out of all colleges of the town, at the discretion of Mr. Roger Kelke,* D.D. who was by the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges specially appointed to set forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace. To whom were joined four others thought meet for that charge, chosen out of the four principal colleges.

When the play was ended, her majesty departed to her lodging about twelve of the clock, in such order as she came.

Upon Monday, August 7, at eight of the clock, the University bell did sound unto the ordinary lectures: for the term, by public consent, was resumed upon Friday, Aug. 4, to continue all the time of the queen's abode here; and during that space, all things touching all lectures and disputations, to be done as fully and wholly as at any other time and season. The ordinaries reading, Mr. Secretary, with other lords and gentlemen, came to the schools, and heard the lectures, as well of physic, dialect, and rhetoric, as of divinity and law.

The divinity lecture was read in the logic schools at nine o'clock; for the great divinity school was fraught with wardrop of beds, and the higher with the office of the spicery; and in the little chapel (where the doctors usually stand at divinity disputation) was placed the groom porter.

At nine o'clock was a disputation in art, and the master brought to the schools with the beadles; and to that came so many lords and gentlemen, that no man could stir in the schools. The lords commanded the proctors and Mr. Leyton the disputer, to put on their caps, and to observe the old ancient rites. In this disputation, Mr. Secretary ordered the same, as moderator; and none departed until the end of the disputation.

Against one o'clock was provided, in St. Mary's church, for disputations, a great and ample stage, from the wall of the belfry-head unto the chancel. In the east end was

* Collated to the archdeaconry of Stowe, 5th of May, 1563. Le Neve.

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made a spacious and high room for the queen's majesty, which was, by her own servants, richly hanged with arras and cloth of state, and all other necessaries, with a cushion to lean upon. All the disputations were driven to that part of the stage; and because both the sides were little enough for the lords and ladies, new stages were devised for the doctors, upon the sides, fixed to the side-posts; being some space above those who sat upon the forms, and yet lower than the rails of the higher stages. The divines sat upon the south side, and with them, next to the queen's feet, Mr. Secretary as chancellor, having before him the usual cloth and a long velvet cushion. Upon the other side sat the lawyers and physicians, next the queen's stage, with whom sat Mr. Dr. Haddon, master of requests, in his seniority. In the middle almost stood the responsal's seat, looking forward. Above that, eastward, sat the B. D.'s on both sides, with the non-regents. And last of all, westward, stood the M. A.'s, who were commanded to be at the disputation. All, save the doctors, were in their habits and hoods.

And here it is to be noted, that great inquisition was made, both at this time and yesterday's sermon *ad clerum*, and some fault found, as well by the prince as by others of the nobility, why some masters regents went in white silk, and others in mynever.* Also some masters were noted by the queen's majesty to be but masters, because their habits and hoods were torn and too much soiled. *Sed hæc hactenus.*

The proctors stall was set, not far from the responsal's, under the D.D.'s. And under them sat the proctors of the University of Oxford, who by common consent, and special commandment of that whole University, were sent hither, with their esquire and principal beadle, to see and hear, as near as they could, for their better instructions, (if it should fortune the queen's majesty to visit that University) all our doings, order, and proceedings. These men went daily in their gowns and hoods, and were very well used of all men, and especially of Mr. Secretary, by whose counsel one of them confessed unto me why they were moved to come hither. They were daily feasted of one or other; and now, by especial commandment of Mr. Secretary, after this sort placed, (as they were continually placed) and sat next our proctors, in all our common and open doings.

* A skin speckled with streaks of white.

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When all things were ready, and after the ringing of the University bell, the queen's majesty came to the said place, with royal pomp. At whose entering, all the graduates kneeled, and cried modestly, *Vivat Regina!* and she thanked them; and after, by Mr. Secretary, understood the order, difference, and placing of every person within the theatre.

Then she inquired, "what the proctors seat meant?" And when answer was made, that "it was for the proctors to moderate and rule the disputation," she asked for them. Then the beadles brought them in, who kneeled down; unto whom she gave licence to order the schools, being moved thereunto by Mr. Secretary; saying, *Omnia fiant ordine.*

When the proctors had taken their place, she inquired "of the other seat appointed for the respondent?" And when her grace perceived the end of the same, and the respondent placed, she willed "all to stand up (for until that time all kneeled), and the disputations to begin, and to have the questions delivered unto her." The respondent, named Mr. Thomas Byng,* of Peter-house, delivered his oration, with the questions, to the beadle; he to Mr. Secretary, and he to the queen's highness.

Then the proctors accordingly set the respondent to his oration, and all were permitted to sit. For otherwise of order none were permitted to sit in her presence.

When the respondent had ended his oration, four M. A.'s standing near her grace's stage, and looking westward, replied; with whom her majesty was so much pleased, that she by divers gestures, declared the same; and sundry times stayed the proctors from taking them up. And when they had cut them off, she seemed to be offended, saying, "if she had the moderation, they should not have been so abridged."

In the time of this disputation, the beadles, according to the custom, put on their coifs and hoods, and so entered, and kneeled down; unto whom, after she had for a little time looked upon their habit, she with her hand beckoned to stand up.

When the disputation was ended, Mr. Dr. Haddon, asking accordingly leave of her highness, determined the questions with a long oration. The questions were, 1. *Monar-*

* Afterwards orator of the University of Cambridge, (in the place of William Master) master of Clare Hall, and king's professor of civil law.
Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 98.

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chia est optimus status reipublicæ. 2. Frequens legum mutatio est periculosa.

As soon as this disputation was ended, began the act of physic. Dr. Lorkin, taking the responsal's seat, defended first, 1. *Simplex cibus præferendus multiplici. 2. Cœnandum liberatius quam prandendum.* First, the proctors willed the disputers to propound the questions; then Dr. Caius, as ancient in the faculty, moved the questions, and then the respondent moved his position. The doctors, in their order, did dispute, being three. But because their voices were small and not audible, her majesty first said unto them, *Loquimini altius.* And when that would not help, she left her seat, and came to the stage over their heads. But because their voices were low, and yet she could not well hear them, her grace made not much of that disputation.

The questions were of one of her own physicians, doctor of this University, named Dr. Hycke, determined; with whom her majesty merrily jested, when he desired licence of her grace.

After he had ended his oration, being about seven o'clock, her highness very merrily departed to her palace. And, about nine o'clock came, as the night before, to a play called Dido, which was exhibited and played by, and at the charges of, the company of King's College; and from thence to her lodging.

Tuesday, August 8, ordinary lectures, disputations, and frequenting of the same, were done as the day before. In the afternoon, when all things were prepared, as before, for the disputation in divinity and law, her majesty, for other considerations, deferred the same until the next day.

This day the lords of the council did sit in the south vestry, called Dr. Argentyn's chapel, then called the council-chamber.

At night, about the accustomed hour, and in the same manner, her highness came to the play, called Ezekias, in English; which was played by King's College, and the charges thereof by them borne; and then her majesty went to her rest.

This day also order was taken that her majesty should remain here one day longer than at the first it was appointed; for her gests were to depart upon the Wednesday: and a saying was, "if provision of beer and ale could have been made, her grace would have remained until Friday," her highness was so well pleased with all things.

Wednesday, August 9. After the ordinary lectures and

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disputations were done, about six o'clock in the morning, the queen's majesty took her progress about to the colleges, riding in state royal; all the lords and gentlemen riding before her grace, and all the ladies following on horseback. The beadles waited upon her highness, and in the same manner and order as on Sunday before.

The mayor that day came not abroad, which was noted of divers, and thought some part of his duty.

From her palace she went first to Clare Hall, where the master, Dr. Edward Leeds, waited with his company, and received her majesty with an oration.

Then entered her grace into King's College, where the provost, Dr. Philip Baker, stood, with the whole household, and caused an oration to be made unto her highness, and then gave unto her a fair book covered with red velvet, containing all such verses as his company had made of her grace's coming. There was also compiled, in the same book, an account of the founder of the said college, (Henry VI.) benefactors, and the names of all such persons as were of any worthy memory, who had been brought up in that college: which book she received, with a mild countenance, and delivered to one of her footmen.

Here is to be noted, that, before her majesty came to town, by advertisement of Mr. Secretary, order was taken for making of two books, to be exhibited to her grace. In the one should be written, in the Roman hand, all the verses both of Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Chaldee, and English, which were made of her coming, and otherways set up in divers places of the town, as is mentioned before; and that every college should be placed by itself in that book. In the other should be copied and digested the founders and benefactors of every college: the names of every company at this present time, and their degrees: and the names of all those who had been brought up in the same, who had come to some great estimation in the world, or been in any high function, as bishops, ambassadors, or any special or entire servant of the prince.

These books were accordingly made, and fairly bound, severally; and delivered to Mr. Secretary, who delivered the same unto her highness. And, riding about to the colleges, Mr. Chancellor carried the books in his hands, and, at every college, perused the same.

From King's College, her majesty rode into Trinity Hall, and from thence to Gunvill and Caius College; and in both places was received with an oration.

From thence she departed to Trinity College; and riding,

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as in a lane, in the midst of her company, came almost to the east gate, where the master, Mr. Robert Beaumont stood, and caused an oration in Greek to be made unto her highness.

Then she went into St. John's College, and, riding into the hall, had there an oration.

From thence she rode to Christ's College, leaving Jesus College, because it stood far out of the way; and in her journey next morning she minded to see Magdalen College. At Christ's College was made an oration before her majesty in Greek verses, for the which she rendered thanks in Greek. And the master, Dr. Edward Hawford, (then also vice-chancellor) presented unto her a pair of gloves, in remembrance of her grandame, the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, foundress of that college and St. John's.*

From thence her grace, by the Market Hill and Butchery, came to Benet College. And, because the time was passed, she would hear no oration. But the master, Dr. John Porie, gave her a pair of gloves, and certain boxes of comfits.

From thence she went into Pembroke Hall, and Peter House, and in both places heard an oration; and at Peter House, she much commended the son of sir Walter Mildmay,† who, being a child, made a very neat and trim oration, and pronounced it very aptly and distinctly.

From thence her majesty come home by Queen's College, and St. Catharine's Hall, only perusing the houses, because it was almost one o'clock, And so returning to her lodging, as her grace rode through the street, she talked very much with some scholars in Latin, and at her alighting off her horse, with Latin dismissed them.

At three o'clock the University bell rang to the disputations in divinity, unto the which her majesty came, as before. And, at her entrance, Mr. Halton, who defended the causes, exhibited thirteen copies of his conclusions, made in verses: whereof one was delivered unto her highness by Mr. Secretary. The others were given to the noblemen by the beadle.

The conclusions were, 1. *Major est authoritas scripturæ*

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* Emanuel and Sydney Colleges were not then founded. The former of these was founded in the year 1584, by sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer; and the latter in 1598, by Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex.

† Anthony, who inherited his father's estate at Apethorp, in Northamptonshire. His only daughter married Francis Fane, earl of Westmorland.

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quam ecclesiæ. 2. *Civilis magistratus habet authoritatem in rebus ecclesiasticis.* Five of the eldest doctors were appointed to oppugn the first question; and the rest, the second.

In the disputations it fortuned, that, for lack of time, and through haste to the second question, Mr. Dr. Baker, provost of King's, and Mr. Dr. Francis Newton,* were pretermitted; and Mr. Dr. John Stokes, president of Queen's College, senior of the last five, ready to dispute of the second. But my lord chamberlain remembered the queen of Dr. Newton; whereupon he was commanded to dispute briefly; and afterwards put in mind by my lord Roberts, that Mr. Dr. Baker was yet left behind in that cause to reply; she willed him to dispute also, alledging in open audience, "That he was her host, and she feared to lack her lodging, if she should chance to come again hereafter, if he should be disappointed."† And so he disputed.

After him disputed two doctors of the second conclusion. And so because the time was passed (for it was after seven o'clock), the other doctors were stayed. And then the lord bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, sitting in his bishop's weed, between Mr. Secretary and the vice-chancellor, with a solemn oration determined the conclusions. For the night coming on clean took away the disputation of the lawyers, which were but two, beside the determiner.

The questions ready to be maintained by her reader, Master Clarke, of Clare Hall, were, 1. *Privatus quilibet, ut munus publicum jubeat, cogi potest.* 2. *Mutuans pecuniam ludenti aleæ non potest repetere.*

At the end thereof the lords, and especially the duke of Norfolk and the lord Robert, kneeling down, humbly desired her majesty to speak somewhat to the University, and in Latin. Her highness at the first refused, saying, "that, if she might speak her mind in English, she would not stick at the matter." But understanding by Mr. Secretary, that nothing might be said openly to the University in English, she required him the rather to speak, because he was chancellor, and the chancellor is the queen's mouth. Whereunto he answered, "that he was chancellor of the University, and not hers." Then the bishop of Ely, kneeling, said, "that three words of her mouth were enough."

* Installed dean of Winchester, 21st May, 1565. Le Neve.

† Dr. Baker was deprived for popery, 22nd February, 1569, and fled beyond sea. Ibid.

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So, being moved on every side, she complied, and made a very sensible speech; in which, among other things, she raised the expectations of the University, with respect to some royal foundation, which, however, she never thought fit to gratify.

At this speech of the queen's, the auditors, being all marvellously astonished, and inwardly revising and revolving the sense of it, they presently spoke forth in open voice, *Vivat Regina!* But the queen's majesty said on the other side, in respect of her oration, *Taceat Regina!* and wished all they that heard her oration had drank of the flood Lethe. And so her majesty chearfully departed to her lodging.

Great preparations and charges, as before in the other plays, where employed and spent about the tragedy of Sophocles, call Ajax Flagellifer in Latin, to be this night played before her. But her highness, as it were tired with going about to the colleges, and with hearing of disputations, and overwatched with former plays (for it was very late nightly before she came to them, as also departed from them), and furthermore minding early in the morning to depart from Cambridge, and ride to a dinner unto a house of the bishop of Ely at Stanton, from thence to her bed at Hinchinbrook,* a house of sir Henry Cromwell's,† in Huntingdonshire, (about twelve miles from Cambridge), could not, as otherwise no doubt she would (with like patience and chearfulness, as she was present at the other) hear the said tragedy, to the great sorrow, not only of the players, but of the whole University.

Upon Thursday, August 10, early in the morning, was called a congregation, against eight o'clock; in the which divers lords of the garter, and other noblemen, were made masters of arts; who gently accepted the offer of the University, and were admitted, and promised their fidelity to the University in the chamber of presence, viz. Thomas Howard,‡ duke of Norfolk; Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Sussex; Ambrose Dudley,§ earl of Harwich; Edward Vere, earl of Oxford; Edward Manners, earl of Rutland; lord Robert Dudley, high steward; Edward Clinton, lord

* Now the seat of the earl of Sandwich.

† Grandfather to Oliver Cromwell.

‡ Beheaded on Tower-hill, 2nd June, 15 Eliz. for endeavouring to marry Mary queen of Scots.

§ Eldest surviving son of John duke of Northumberland, and elder brother to lord Robert Dudley.

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Clinton; Henry Carey;* lord Hunsdon; William Howard,† lord Effingham, lord chamberlain; sir William Cecil, knight, chancellor; sir Francis Knollys, knight; John Ashley, Richard Bertie,‡ Thomas Heneage, Edward Cooke, and William Cooke, esqs. Mr. William Latimer,§ clerk of her majesty's closet, doctor in divinity.

The queen's highness, about nine o'clock, hasted to horseback; and at the porch of her lodging met her the provost, (Dr. Baker) and certain of his company, where Mr. Thomas Preston,‖ M. A. fellow of King's College (whom before in all his doings in the University the queen well liked), made a very goodly oration; taking their leave, and bidding her majesty farewell: with whom she was then so well pleased, that she made him, and openly called him "her scholar:" and, in token thereof, offered him her hand to kiss; and so took her leave and departed.

At this time Mr. Clark, of Clare Hall, her majesty's reader in law, exhibited to her his oration (of the verity of the questions written before) in writing; and certain reasons against them: which he did, because the shortness of the time would neither suffer him to speak his mind of the questions, neither his adversaries to repel them, nor the determiner to judge of the truth, because no man must be judge of his own causes.

Passing by King's College by the schools, Dr. Andrew Perne, and divers others of the University, kneeled, and wished her grace, in Latin, a prosperous and safe progress. To whom she mildly answered again with a loud voice, *Valete; omnes!*

The mayor on horseback, and bearing his mace, with all the aldermen, tarried for her majesty against the west end of St. Mary's church, and so waited upon her to the far end of Howse-Causey. And coming by Magdalen College, the master, Roger Kelke, and the company of the same, were

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* First cousin to queen Elizabeth.

† Son of Thomas the second duke of Norfolk.

‡ Father to lord Willoughby, of Eresby, and ancestor of the present duke of Ancaster and earl of Abingdon.

§ Dean of Peterborough, in 1560, and archdeacon of Westminster.

‖ Afterwards LLD. and master of Trinity Hall. He acted so admirably well in the tragedy of Dido, and did so genteely and gracefully dispute before the queen, that she gave him 20l. per annum, for so doing. A. Wood. Preston's antagonist in these disputations was the famous Thomas Cartwright, of Trinity College. Cartwright had dealt most with the Muses, Preston with the Graces. Cartwright disputed like a great, Preston like a genteel scholar.

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ready to receive her grace with an oration. But her highness excused her staying to hear the same, by reason of the heat of the day and the press of the people, and therefore required the paper of the oration; which being exhibited, she departed; and was, by all mens prayers, committed to the grace and tuition of Almighty God, who ever bless her! Amen.

The duke of Norfolk accompanied her majesty out of the town; and then, returning, entered Magdalen College, and gave much money in the same, promising 40l. by year till they had builded the quadrant of their college; and further promised, "that he would endow them with land for the increase of their number and studies."

1772, *Oct. Sup.* 1773, *Jan.*

XII. Queen Elizabeth's Speech to the University of Cambridge, alluded to in the preceding Article.

"ETSI fœminilis pudor, clarissima academia, subditique fidelissimi, in tanta doctorum turba inelaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem me prohibet apud vos narrare; tamen nobilium meorum intercessio, benevolentiaque mea erga academiam, me aliquid proferre invitavit.

"Duobus stimulis ad hanc rem commoveor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio, quam multum cupio, et ardentissimis votis exopto: alter est, vestra (ut audio) omnium expectatio.

"Quod ad [literarum] propagationem spectat, unum illud apud Demosthenem memini, 'Superiorum verba apud inferiores librorum locum habent; et principum dicta legum authoritatem apud subditos retinent.' Hoc itaque unum vos omnes in memoria retinere velim, quod semita nulla rectior, nulla aptior erit, sive ad bona fortunæ acquirenda, sive ad principis vestræ gratiam conciliandam, quam ut graviter studiis vestris incumbatis, ut cœpistis. Quod ut faciatis, vos omnes oro, obsecroque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirum expectatione, hoc unum dico me nihil libenter prætermissuram esse, quod vestræ de me animæ benevolæ concipiunt cogitationes.

"Jam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ædificia vestra sumptuosa, a meis antecedentibus, clarissimis principibus, literarum causa extructa: et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupavit, atque ea mentis suspiria, quæ Alexandrum Magnum quondam tenuisse ferun-

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tur; qui, cum legisset multa aliorum principum monumenta, conversus ad familiarem, seu potius consiliarium suum, multum doluit 'aliquem fuisse qui eum tempore vel actis præcessisset.' Sic ego non minus dolebam, cum vestra ædificia videbam, me nihil adhuc hujusmodi fecisse. Hæc tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantulum recreavit, quæ etsi non auferre, tamen minuere possit dolorem meum; quæ quidem sententia hæc est, 'Romam uno die non fuisse conditam.' Non est enim ita senilis mea ætas, aut tam longus fuit gubernationis meæ ordo,* quin, ante redditionem debiti naturæ, (si non nimis cito Atropos lineam vitæ meæ amputaverit) aliquod opus eximium faciam. Et, quamdiu vita hos regit artus, nunquam a proposito deflectam. Et si contingat (quod quam cito futurum sit plane nesciam) me mori oportere, antequam hoc ipsum quod polliceor, complere possim, aliquod tamen opus egregium post mortem relinquam, quo et memoria mea celebris fiat, et alios excitem exemplo meo; et vos omnes alacriores faciam ad vestra studia.

"Sed jam videtis quantum intersit inter doctrinam rectam, et disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis testes; alterius autem vos omnes, nimis quidem inconsiderate, testes hoc tempore effeci.

"Nunc tempus est, ut aures vestræ, hoc barbaro orationis genere tam diu detentæ tædio liberentur. E. R. A. dixi."

TRANSLATION.

"Though female modesty, most celebrated University, and most faithful subjects, deters me from delivering an unstudied speech and oration before so great an assembly of the learned, yet the intreaty of my nobles, and my own regard for the University, have induced me to say something.

"For this I have two motives. The first is, the increase of good learning; which I much desire, and most ardently wish. The other is, (as I hear) all your expectations. As to the increase of learning, I remember that passage in Demosthenes, 'The words of superiors supply with inferiors the place of books; and the sayings of princes have with their subjects the authority of laws.' I would, therefore, have you all remember this, that there will be no way

* Queen Elizabeth was at this time in the thirty-first year of her age, and the sixth of her reign.

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more direct, more proper, either to acquire the gifts of fortune, or to procure the favour of your prince, than by diligently applying to your studies, as you have begun. And this I beg and intreat of you all. As to the second inducement, namely, your expectations, I say only this, that I would willingly omit nothing, as your benevolent minds are so partial to me.

"I now come to the University. I have seen this morning your costly buildings, erected by my predecessors, most illustrious princes, for the sake of learning; and on seeing them grief overwhelmed me, and that anxiety of mind, which is said formerly to have oppressed Alexander the Great, who, on surveying the various memorials of other princes, turning to his favourite, or rather counsellor, much lamented 'that any one should have preceded him either in life or actions.' In like manner I grieved no less, when I beheld your structures, that I had hitherto done nothing of this sort. But this common saying gave me some consolation; and, though it cannot remove, may yet abate my grief; namely, *that Rome was not built in a day.*

"For my age is not so far advanced, nor have I reigned so long, but that before I pay the debt of nature, (if fate does not cut the thread of my life too soon) I may perform some excellent work. And while life remains, I will never deviate from this design. And should I happen to die (which how soon it may be I cannot tell) before I can fulfil this my promise, yet I will leave some excellent work after my death, by which my memory may be renowned, others may be excited by my example, and I may make you all more diligent in your studies.

"But now you perceive the great difference between true learning and instruction not well retained. Of the former you yourselves are sufficient evidence; of the latter I, too inconsiderately, have made you all witnesses.

"It is now time that your ears, too long detained by this barbarous sort of an oration, should be released."

1773, *Feb.*

XIII. An Attempt to prove the precise Day when Julius Cæsar made his first Descent upon Britain; also the very spot where he landed.

THE authors that mention this expedition, with any circumstances, are, Cæsar in his Commentaries, lib. 4, and

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Dion Cassius, in lib. 39; Livy's account being lost, in whose 105th book might possibly have been found the story more at large. It is certain, that this expedition of Cæsar was in the year of the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, which was in the year of Rome 699, or the 55th before the usual æra of Christ: and, as to the time of the year, Cæsar says, that *exigua parte æstatis reliqua*, he came over only with two legions, viz. the seventh and tenth, and all foot, in about 80 sail of merchant ships, 18 sail that were ordered to carry the horse, not being able to get out at the same time from another port, where they lay wind-bound. He says, that he arrived about the fourth hour of the day, viz. between nine and ten in the morning, on the coast of Britain, where he found the enemy drawn up on the cliffs ready to repel him; which place he thus describes: *Loci hæc erat natura, adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici possit;* by which the cliffs of Dover and the South Foreland are justly described, and could be no other land, since he says, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, *in Britanniam trajectum esse cognoverit circiter millia passuum triginta a continenti;* the cliffs of the North Foreland being at a much greater distance. Here, he says, he came to an anchor, and laid till the ninth hour, or till between three and four in the afternoon, expecting his whole fleet to come up; and, in the mean time, called a council of war, and advertised his officers after what manner they were to make their descent, particularly in relation to the surf of the sea, whose motion he calls *celerem atque instabilem*, quick and uneven. Then, viz. about four in the afternoon he weighed anchor, and having the wind and tide with him, he sailed about eight miles from the first place, and anchored against an open and plain shore.

Here he made his descent; and, having told us the opposition that was made, and the means he used to get on shore, he comes to say, that, after he had been four days in Britain, the 18 ships with his horse put to sea, and were come in sight of his camp, when a sudden tempest arose, with contrary wind, so that some of the ships put back again, others were driven to the westward, not without great danger, and coming to an anchor, they found they could not ride it out; so, when night came on, they put off to sea, and returned from whence they came. That same night it was full-moon, which makes the greatest tides in the ocean; and they being ignorant thereof, their gallies, which were drawn on shore, were filled by the tide, &c.

Then he says, that the day of the autumnal equinox be-

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ing at hand, after some days stay, wherein there passed no action, because he kept close in his camp by the shore, and not thinking it proper to stay till the winter came on, he returned into Gallia. The next year, he made another expedition, with five legions, and a good body of horse; but there is but little in the history thereof serving to our purpose, excepting that he says he set sail from the *Portus Icius* about sun-set, with a gentle south-west wind, *leni Africo profectus;* that, about midnight, it fell calm, and being carried away with the tide, by the time it was day, he found he had left Britain on the left hand; but then the tide turning, they fell to their oars, and by noon, reached that part of the island where he landed before, and came on shore without opposition, and then marched up into the country, leaving his ships at anchor *in littore molli et aperto.*

This is all in Cæsar that is any thing pertinent; and I find no where else any thing to guide us farther, except one passage in Dion Cassius, who, speaking of the first landing of Cæsar, says, ὐ μέντοι κ᾽ ἢ ἴδει προσέχειν; that is, as I translate, "But he landed not where he intended," for that the Britons, hearing of his coming, had possessed all the usual places of landing. Ἄκραν δέ τινα προέχουσαν περιπλέυσας ἐτίρωσε παρεκομισθη· Καὶ ταῦθα τους προσμίξαντας οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας ἔφθη τῆς γῆς κρατήσας: in my English, "Wherefore, doubling a certain head-land, he made to the shore on the other side, where he overcame those that skirmished with him at the water's edge, and so got well on land." Here I make bold to translate the words, ἐς τὰ τενάγη, at the water's edge, which, in H. Stephen's edition, is interpreted *in paludibus*; but I have the authority of Suidas, who says, τέναγος πελαγία ἰλὺς, or the sea-mud, and is therefore properly the ouse on the sea-shore, and, by an easy figure, may be put for the shore itself, where such ouse commonly is found.

From these data, that it was in the year of the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, that it was *exigua parte æstatis reliqua*, and four days before a full-moon, which fell out in the night time, the time of this invasion will be determined to a day: for, by the eclipse of the moon, whereof Drusus made so good use to quiet a mutiny in the Pannonian army, upon the death of Augustus, it follows, that Augustus died anno Christi 14, which was reckoned anno urbis condita 767; and that this action was 68 years before, viz. in the 55th year before Christ current; in which year the full-moon fell out August 30, after midnight, or 31, in the morning, before day; and the preceding full-moon was August 1, soon after noon; so that this could not be the full-moon

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mentioned as falling in the day time; nor that in the beginning of July, it being not ten days after the summer solstice, when it would not have been said *exigua parte æstatis reliqua.* It follows, therefore, that the full-moon spoken of was on August 30, at night, and that the landing on Britain was August 26, in the afternoon, about a month before the autumnal equinox, which agrees to all the circumstances of the story in point of time.

As to the place, the high land and cliffs described could be no other than those of Dover, and are allowed to have been so by all; it remains only to examine whether the descent was made to the northward or southward of the place where he first anchored. The data to determine this are, first, that it was four days before the full-moon: secondly, that that day, by three o'clock in the afternoon, the tide ran the same way he sailed; thirdly, that a S. by E. moon makes high water on all that coast, the flood coming from the southward. Hence it will follow, that that day it was high water there about eight in the morning, and, consequently, low water about two; wherefore, by three, the tide of flood was well made up, and it is plain that Cæsar went with it; and the flood setting to the northward shews that the open plain shore where he landed was to the northward of the cliffs, and must be in the Downs: and this I take to be little less than demonstration. A second argument is drawn from the wind wherewith he set out on his second expedition, viz. S. W. as appears by the words *leni Africo profectus*, with which the navigation of those times would hardly permit a ship to sail nearer the wind than eight points, or a N. W. course, which would serve, indeed, to go into the Downs, but would by no means fetch the low land towards Dengyness, which is much about W. from Calais, and not more than W. N. W. from Boulogne, if it shall be said that that was the Portus Icius from which Cæsar set out. Whence I take it to be evident, that, if Cæsar was not bound more northerly than the South Foreland, he could not have thought the Africus, or S. W. wind proper for his passage, which was then intended for the place where he first landed the year before.

Justly to determine which the Portus Icius was, I find no where sufficient grounds; only Ptolemy calls the promontory of Calais-Cliffs by the name of Ἰκιον ἄκρον, whence there is reason to conjecture, that the Portus Icius was very near thereto, and that it was either Ambletuse on one side, or Calais on the other. The same Ptolemy places Γισοριακον ἐπίνειον in the same latitude with the Ἰκιον ἄκρον, but something more to the east, which seems to refute those that have

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supposed the ancient port of Gessoriacum to have been Boulogne; whereas, by Ptolemy's position, it must be either Dunkirk or Graveling, but the former most likely, both by the distance from the Ἰκιὸν ἄκρον, being about twenty miles, or half a degree of longitude, to the east, or two-fifths of the whole coast of Flanders, which he makes but a degree and a quarter from the Acron Icion to the mouth of the Scheld, which he calls Ostia Tabudæ; as also for that Pliny, l. iv. c. 16, speaking of Gessoriacum, says, the *proximus trajectus* into Britain from thence is fifty miles, which is too much, unless Gessoriacum were something more easterly than Calais. Dion Cassius makes the distance between France and Britain 450 stadia, or 56 miles, and says likewise it is the nearest, τὸ συντομώτατον. But this is in part amended by the explication given in the Itinerary of Antoninus, where the space between Gessoriacum and Rutupium is said to be 450 stadia (for this was the ordinary passage of the Romans into Britain,) Rutupium being more northerly, and Gessoriacum more easterly, than the termini of Cæsar's voyage, consequently the distance is more than thirty miles, which Cæsar had observed; and now lately an accurate survey has proved the distance between land and land to be 26 English miles, which shews how near Cæsar's estimate was to the truth.

A farther argument (but not of equal force with the former, because of the modernness of the author, who wrote above 250 years after) may be drawn from the words of Dion Cassius, where he says, ἄκραν τινὰ προίχωσαν περιπλέυσας ἐτέρωσε παρεκομίσθη; that, after his first anchoring, he sailed about a promontory to the place where he landed. Now there are no other promontories on all that coast but the South Foreland and Dengyness; the latter of which it could not be, because Cæsar says he sailed but eight miles, and the Ness itself is about ten miles from the south and nearest end of the Chalk-Cliffs, by the town of Hith; and, to have gone round that point to the other side, the distance must have been much greater; so that the promontory spoken of by Dion, must needs be the South Foreland, and Cæsar must anchor near over against Dover, from whence sailing eight miles, he would double a head land, and come to the Downs, which is such a coast as he describes in one place by *apertum ac planum littus*, and, in his fifth book, by *molle ac apertum littus*. As to Dion's word ἐς τὰ τενάγη, what I have already said about it seems sufficient to prove that he means no more than the water's edge; and the etymologists derive it from τέγγω, *madefacio*, because the wash and breach of the sea do always keep it wet. And this word τενάγη

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is used by Polybius for the sea-ouse: and, in another place, he speaks of the difficulty of landing at the mouth of a river, διὰ τὴν τιναγώδη πάροδον *ob limosum accessum*; so that it is not to be doubted that it ought to be rendered, in this place, *ad vadum maris*, rather than *in paludibus*. And so this objection against the assertion, that Cæsar landed in the Downs, which is known to be a firm champaign country, without fens and morasses, will be removed; and the whole argument will, it is hoped, be admitted by the curious.

1774, *June*.

XIV. The Precise Place of Cæsar's Landing in Britain disputed.

Mr. URBAN,

THE ingenious disquisition (in your June Mag.) on the precise day and spot of Cæsar's landing in Britain, which I think, is Dr. Halley's, published long ago in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 193, has long also been answered in the following manner By Dr. Battely:*—"Aristotle has distinguished these two, ἀμμώδης (sandy), and τιναγώδης (muddy). The Scholiast, on that passage of Apollonius Rhodius,

Πάντη γαρ τίναγος,—

says, "τίναγος is a marshy place." Plutarch, relating the action performed by Scæva, at the landing of Cæsar, says, "it happened in a place that was marshy, and full of water, and near some muddy streams;" which expressions seem clearly to intimate, that there was, in the place where they fought, a river, or some muddy stream, such as can scarcely be found on the Deal coast; for there is only sand, than which nothing can be more steady, or more proper for a firm footing, on which account it used even to be spread in the theatres." Dr. Battely, therefore, supposes, (and so do those great antiquaries, Burton, Horsley, and Gale) that "Cæsar landed not in the Downs, but in the mouth of Richborough-harbour, the ancient Portus Rutupinus. That exactly agrees with Dion's description. A promontory was there; that being doubled, such a harbour appeared as Cæsar sought, "fit to receive a number of large ships." There,

* In his Antiquitates Rutupinæ, of which an abridgement has lately been published.

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as is usual at the mouths of rivers, was a marshy and muddy shore, on which Cæsar's soldiers leaping from their vessels could not "keep their footing" [*firmiter insistere*]. On the same promontory, if Plot and Darell be right in their conjecture, was Cæsar's naval camp, and from thence the place was called Cæsar's Camp. As to Cæsar's saying that "he sailed about eight miles from the first place, and then anchored on a plain and open shore," a distance which (from Dover) is undoubtedly more suitable to Deal than to Richborough, be it observed, 1. That the words "eight miles," *octo millia passuum*, do not occur invariably in all the editions of Cæsar. 2. That there are other places on that coast no less difficult of access than Dover, on account of the wonderful cliffs by which Cicero affirms that the approaches to the island are fortified. 3. Who but must allow, that Cæsar, sailing near an unknown coast, with the wind and tide in his favour, of whose force, he acknowledges, his people were ignorant, being driven perhaps farther than he suspected, might possibly mistake in his calculation, especially when we consider how unskilful and inaccurate the ancients were in measuring distances by sea, and remember that this great commander, who never erred in war, is charged, however, by Cluverius, with erring in his measurement of our island. 4. Though Cæsar says, *In Britanniam trajectum esse cognoverit circiter millia XXX. a continenti*, and the cliffs of the North Foreland are at a much greater distance, the reading in the most authentic copies is "XXXX." This also is approved by those learned writers, Is. Casaubon, Chifflet, and Merula, and is most clearly confirmed by Strabo; who says, that "Cæsar's passage to Britain was 320 furlongs, or 40 miles:" and all experienced seamen know that this is the exact distance between the mouth of Richborough harbour and Boulogne; for that this was the ancient Gessoriacum from whence Cæsar sailed, Dr. Battely has also, in my opinion, clearly proved. But for that I must refer to his work, observing only, that, though Dion Cassius, Pliny, and Antoninus, all make the distance between Gessoriacum and Rutupiæ above 50 miles, in these numbers there is apparently an egregious mistake; for how could Britain be distant from the continent "50 miles or more," when Cæsar, by the testimony of Strabo, relates that the most commodious harbour of Gaul was no more than forty miles distant from the most celebrated harbour of Britain? In short, the promontory which Dion mentions, was probably neither the South Foreland, nor Dengyness, but the utmost

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extremity of the shore, on the left hand of those who entered Richborough harbour, now, perhaps, by the returning of the waves, far distant from the sea.

That Cæsar landed in our island on August 26, in the afternoon, Dr. Halley seems clearly to have proved; but, for the reasons above given, your readers, I am apt to think, will still be of opinion, that the place where Cæsar landed was Rutupiæ, or Richborough, and not the Downs, or Deal.

I am,

Yours, &c.

CRITO.

1774, *Sept.*

XV. Cæsar's Passage over the Thames. In a Letter from Dr. Stukeley to Andrew Coltee Ducarel, LLD. F. S. A.

KNOWING well your love for ancient learning especially that of our own country, I need not plead the title of friendship to render the subsequent account agreeable to you, being the result of my observations in the afternoon of a journey I took to Chertsey.

I first went with eager steps to view the abbey, rather the site of the abbey; for, so total a dissolution I scarcely ever saw; so inveterate a rage against every the least appearance of it, as if they meant to defeat even the inherent sanctity of the ground. Of that noble and splendid pile, which took up four acres of ground, and looked like a town, nothing remains: scarcely a little of the outward wall of the precinctus.

The gardener carried me through a court on the right-hand at the south side of the house, where, at the entrance of the kitchen garden, stood the church of the abbey; I doubt not, splendid enough. The west front and tower-steeple was by the door and outward wall, looking toward the town and entrance to the abbey. The east end reached up to an artificial mount along the garden-wall. That mount, and all the terraces of the pleasure-garden on the back-front of the house, are entirely made up of the sacred *rudera* and rubbish of continual devastation.

Human bones of the abbots, monks, and great personages, who were buried in great numbers in the church, and cloisters which lay on the south side of the church, were

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spread thick all over the garden, which takes up the whole church and cloisters; so that one may pick up handfuls of bits of bones at a time every where among the garden-stuff. Indeed, it put me in mind of what the Psalmist says: "Our bones lie scattered before the pit: like as when one breaketh and heweth wood upon the earth." cxii. 8.

Foundations of the religious building have been dug up, carved stones, slender pillars of Sussex marble, monumental stones, effigies, brasses, inscriptions, every where; even beyond the terraces of the pleasure-garden.

The domains of the abbey extend all along upon the side of the river for a long way, being a very fine meadow. They made a cut at the upper end of it; which taking in the water of the river, when it approaches the abbey, gains a fall sufficient for a water-mill for the use of the abbey and of the town. Here is a very large orchard, with many and long canals, or fish-ponds; which, together with the great moat around the abbey, and deriving its water from the river, was well stocked with fish. Notwithstanding it is so well fenced, in the ninth century the abbey was sacked by the barbarous Danes, the abbot and ninety monks murdered.

I left the ruined ruins of this place, which had been consecrated to religion ever since the year 666, with a sigh for the loss of so much national munificence and national history. Dreadful was that storm which spared not, at least, the churches, libraries, painted glass, monuments, manuscripts; that spared not a little out of the abundant spoil to support them for the public honour and emolument. But, sure, it was highly culpable not to give back a sufficient maintenance to the parochial clergy, and without it, little hope can the possessors entertain for the prosperity of their families.

One piece of history belonging to this place I must mention, lately retrieved by our friend the Rev. Mr. Widmore. The body of that murdered monarch, Henry VI. was deposited in this church under a sumptuous mausoleum. King Henry VII. intending he should be beatified into a saint, removed it to Windsor chapel; thence to Westminster abbey, where it still rests, but in what place particularly is unknown. The court of Rome demanding too high a price for the favour, the king dropped his design.

I now resumed my former ardour to pursue the footsteps of the great Cæsar, who passed the Thames near here. When I lived formerly in London, I made many excursions in quest of his nocturnal mansions, and the track of his journeyings in his two expeditions hither. Very largely

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have I treated that subject in MS. with many drawings, several of which have been engraved thirty years ago.

I have no great hope of printing this, and many like works, for more reasons than one. The spirit of solid learning is visibly sunk in my own time, and since I prosecuted these studies. With a national regard to religion, sunk and neglected, all true knowledge and wisdom falls to the ground. No patrons of that which is really noble and praiseworthy! Nor can authors hope for any return for their labours, through the booksellers craft.

They that have written on Cæsar's journeys hither had very slender notions of it, and of his passing the Thames in particular. That we may come at a proper knowledge of this matter, the great author tells us, in cap. 17 of lib. V. De Bello Gallico, that "the Britons at noon-day attacked with the utmost vigour his foragers, horsemen, and the legionary troops sent to protect them; but, in the end, received such a defeat, that all the auxiliary forces left the general Casvelhan. Nor did the Britons after this attempt to fight the Romans in a regular battle."

This was in Kent, on this side Barham Down. Cæsar found out then, that their intention was to retreat over the river Thames into Casvelhan's own territories, thinking he would not pursue them so high into the midland country. The river Thames was fordable only at one place; and even this, *ægre transiri potest*, in Cæsar's words. This one place is undoubtedly Coway stakes, between Weybridge and Walton, over against Shepperton.

The river at this place is wider than elsewhere, any where near it of some miles, and that is the reason of its being fordable. At this place Casvelhan was determined to make a stand against the Roman arms. We are to disabuse ourselves from the vulgar notions of the Britons being so barbarous a people; none could behave with more policy and valour.

At Shepperton, Casvelhan collected all his forces, and those not a few. Moreover, he had fortified the bankside with sharp pallisadoes; and, besides, the like stakes were fixed in the very bed of the river, under water.

Cæsar would not have merited his consummate character, had he not taken care to have the best intelligence. Mandubratius, king of the Trinobantes, who inhabited London, Middlesex, and some part of the country about Southwark, was now with him. He had been driven out of his own country by Casvelhan, and fled to Cæsar. From him, from captives, and deserters, Cæsar learned all this. But it was

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in vain to hesitate, and quite distant from his temper: he leads his army to Walton, over against the place; it consisted of full 30,000 effective men.

Many years ago I visited this place for the purpose we are upon. There was reason to judge that his nocturnal camp was in the present town, and where brigadier Watkins's house stands. This house is in his camp; the ditch of the camp having been converted into canals in his garden, the dimensions properly corresponding, which gave me a notion of it, being about 300 feet on a side.

Authors generally mistake in fancying that the great and operose camp on St. George's hill, hard by, was Cæsar's; that was a stationary camp; by whom made, I have no concern at this time to enquire. But, far otherwise was the Roman method on expeditions and marches. It is true, they made a camp the very night; such was their discipline; and with reason. But this camp was of very small dimension, two or three hundred feet only on a side. It was chiefly for state and regularity. It was a prætorium, the head quarters of the general and a few chief officers; and perhaps the spoil was there lodged. The Roman army lay around this prætorium; they did not trust their safety to a few drowsy sentinels, but a third part of their army lay under arms; and they always encamped upon plains, and open heaths, free from woods, to prevent surprize.

I have met with many of Cæsar's nocturnal camps: some were engraven thirty years ago, and unpublished for the reasons abovementioned.

It would have been an injudicious rashness in Cæsar to have pushed his passage over the Thames at Coway stakes, so pallisadoed above and below water, with resolute troops on the other side; disadvantages too great for Cæsar's prudence. But the matter, most absolutely necessary, must be accomplished.

Therefore Cæsar resolves to attempt it somewhat higher up the river. For this purpose he leaves a part of his army at the camp of Walton, stretched out in proper front, to make a show of his stay there; the rest he leads over the river Wye, and finds a very convenient place for his purpose in the meadow a little below where Chertsey bridge now stands.

I viewed the place with a great attention, and maturely considered all circumstances, and durst pronounce with assurance, that it was at this very place, of which the great hero thus writes; "He ordered the horse to enter the water, and the legionary troops to follow them closely. The

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soldiers went with so much force and celerity, though they were only head above water, that the enemy could not withstand the power of the legions and of the cavalry, but left the bank, and betook themselves to flight."

Now let us consider the matter step by step. We cannot doubt of his camp being at Walton, over against the enemy; the name of the town proves it, as coming from *vallum*; it is a common name of towns where camps are found. There must be much wood about the river Wye then, as now, which would favour his private march. The river comes from Guilford, has been made navigable not many years ago, and that by means of locks and sluices, which raise the water sufficiently for the purpose. But in its natural state it was easily fordable any where, nor difficult even now.

Farther, there is another little brook which runs into the Wye about Weybridge, but not the least impediment to the march of an army. Descending some high ground at a place called Oburn, they came to a very large dry meadow, of which, no doubt, they had good intelligence before. This is just below Chertsey bridge. On the opposite open shore is another such very large dry meadow, both of gravel. The bed of the river is gravel. Both the shores plain, flat, and level with the water's edge.

All these circumstances are extremely favourable. But, farther, this very place is actually fordable in dry summers at this day. And, to crown all, there is a fine flexure of the river, which must afford the most desirable assistance to the Romans, enlarging their front, contracting that of the Britons, and giving the former an opportunity of making an attack to great advantage on the flat edge of the water; many opposing a few, and surrounding them on two sides as well as front. In a word, we may compare it to the operation of a pair of shears.

Though the Britons, without controversy, awaited Cæsar's motions at Shepperton, yet we have not the least room to think they did not watch him higher up the river, but a mile off, and oppose him with part of their forces. But Cæsar's good fortune and Roman valour overcame all difficulties, and gained the shore. They drove the Britons back to their main body at Shepperton; and there too they totally discomfited them, and took up their station for that night at the very place.

One more advantage gained by his passage at Chertsey is, that the quantity of water in the river is somewhat lessened by all that the Wye furnishes, and that other less

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rivulet, and likewise of the brook that runs by Cowley's house at Chertsey, arising at St. Anne' hill; all emptying themselves into the Thames below this place.*

Lastly, we must observe, that this year of Cæsar's second invasion was remarkably dry; a circumstance of admirable advantage in facilitating his fording the river at this place; as, under the like case, it is now fordable.

I have been informed, that the stakes at Coway, which Casvelhan placed in the river, were very thick pieces of yew-tree; a wood eminent for its toughness, therefore not easily to be broken.

The memorial of this passage of Cæsar is kept up in the name of the town of Chertsey; for, the word is made up of Cæsar, and the British ridh, ritus, a passage or ford. They here pronounce Cæsar soft, after the Italian manner; so Cherbourg, in France, is Cæsaris burgus. So the Latins pronounced cerasus, a cherry, which was originally pronounced kery by the inhabitants of Pontus, whence Lucullus brought the plant. From them the Turks now call them kerrys.

I viewed the house in Chertsey where Mr. Cowley the poet lived and died, as they say. It is a good old timber house, of a tolerable model. There is a large garden; a brook, before mentioned, arising at St. Anne's hill, runs by the side. They talk of a pretty summer-house which he built, which was demolished not long since; and of a seat under a sycamore-tree by the brook; which are mentioned in his poems. There are very good fish-ponds too of his making.

Near Chertsey is that remarkable high hill, called St. Anne's hill, from a chapel built upon it by the piety of former times to the honour of the mother of the blessed Virgin. It is much higher than any ground near it, yet has a very fine spring at the top never dry; a matter of philosophy concerning which I never could in my mind form any sort of solution.

This hill gives a noble proof of the rotation of the earth on its axis, and of that motion being given it when as yet the surface of the ground was not thoroughly dry. This is a fact I have every where observed in all my travels, and long since given notice of it in the beginning of my Itinerarium. There is reason to admire at the incogitancy of man-

* Perhaps the islets above Chertsey bridge break the force of the stream; another advantage.

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kind; as much that they never took notice of it before as since, though a matter so obvious, so exceedingly remarkable.

Near Feltham runs that artificial river made across the common by king Charles I. from Stanwell to Hampton-court; and, east of the powder mills at Belfont, on Hounslow heath, I again remarked a very fair piece of the old Roman road from Old Street, north of London, Portpool Lane, Theobald's Road in my parish, Oxford Road, and so by Turnham Green, to Staines. This piece is just by the water side, and half a mile in length, where the present road leaves it to go to the bridge. This I mentioned in my Itinerary. It goes across the kingdom in a straight line parallel to the Ikenil Street, from Chichester to Dunwich, in Suffolk; the first episcopal seat there, erected by Fœlix the Burgundian, who converted that country to the Christian faith, and built the school at Cambridge. I call this road, for distinction sake, via Trinobantica.

WM. STUKELEY.

Oct. 19, 1752. 1797, *March.*

XVI. On the Navigation of the Ancients.

Mr. URBAN. *Aug.* 16.

I SEND you a letter on Mons. l'Abbé Cartier's work, which gained the prize of the Academy of Antiquaries at Paris, which I gave to Mr. Rey, publisher of the Journal des Sçavans at Amsterdam, July 25, 1781.

"Sir,

"In your journal of this month, p. 288, a learned abbé says, the ancients knew America; and that, from the little the ancient authors have left us on the long voyages of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Marseillois, and Vannois, there is no doubt of their intercourse with the Americans; and likewise, that Julius Cæsar intended to reform the Roman navy on the Rhodian and Vannois plan.

"Though I believe easily in history when it has an air of truth, yet I cannot but look on these assertions as strange hypotheses; they appear the more so, as the most experienced sea-faring gentlemen can give no probable conjecture on such matters, not even how the ancients worked

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their ships, nor the manner of managing the number of oars in their ships of war.

"But, sir, as I have some practice in the nautic arts, and know most of the methods for working ships in the known world, and what has been done for shortening voyages to the East Indies and the western part of the South Seas, I make bold to hazard some objections on the opinion of this learned antiquary.

"I agree that the ancients built large ships, and some much larger than necessary to cross the Atlantic ocean, though not of a proper figure for that purpose; and that the Greeks constructed vessels double the length of our first-rate men of war, as may be seen by Ptolemy's ship of 400 feet long, and 50 broad in the midship, with a proportionable height (Rollin); it had 4000 men for rowing, 3000 soldiers, and 200 sailors. This proves that Ptolemy preferred oars to sails, which, in all likelihood, were small in proportion to those made use of in our days; though this ship was double the length of our largest, which have six times more sailors.

"To give a farther proof of the largeness of some of the ancient ships of war, I shall mention what a French author says, in his Commerce des Egyptiens.

'The military navy of Ptolemy was two ships of thirty-two rows of oars, one of twelve rows, four of thirteen rows, fourteen of eleven rows, thirty-nine of nine rows, with a double number of quadriremes and others of less size.'

"Hiero, king of Syracuse, had a ship built under the direction of Archimedes; it was of a very extraordinary size, and had such a number of conveniences, that we can have no notion of them, being so different from those of our time.

"But, to speak of ships not so extraordinary, and which were more proper for the Mediterranean sea than any of those built by the Armoricans, or ancient Gauls, we have but to look on those constructed by Demetrius for the siege of Rhodes, which, as far as we can conjecture, were such as could contain 1200 men.

"Here is what Plutarch says of those vessels:

'Demetrius built large ships, which had so majestic an appearance that they fascinated the eyes of all those who perceived them, and in such a manner, that his very enemies were struck with admiration when they saw this king's ships, with fifteen and sixteen rows of oars, pass so quick along the shore.'

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"The learned Abbé Cartier says, that 'the death of Cæsar hindered the reform he intended to make in the Roman navy. Mark Antony, at the battle of Actium, followed Cæsar's principles; and it is known that he would have gained the day had not Cleopatra fled with her ships.'

"To such assertions we make bold to answer, that such a man as Mark Antony, engaged in continual civil wars, running from Rome to the Alps, then to Lombardy, thence to the capital, and again to Asia, against the Parthians and Egyptians, and at last plunged in perpetual feastings, &c. such a man, we must think, was very improper to make reforms in matters which had been found useful for many centuries, since we see that in our days, we have been more than fifty years in finding the proper length of our naval cannon.

"I shall not pretend to decide on Cæsar's intentions; but I leave you to judge if such an account, as M. L'Abbé gives us of Cæsar's intended reform, is probable. What Plutarch says of the battle of Actium may be a little in favour of Antony's preferring heavy ships; but his conduct proved his wrong judgment. This ancient author says,

'Mark Antony had no less than five hundred ships, among which were several of eight and ten rows of oars; his vessel appeared more fit for triumph than battle.

'Cæsar had two hundred and fifty ships, all light, and easy to work, but without the least appearance of pomp.

'Mark Antony burnt all his small vessels, but reserved his best and largest, from three to ten rows of oars, and sixty Egyptian ships. When every thing was in order, he went round his fleet in a light frigate, encouraging his men to keep their post in the straits, and think themselves upon firm ground, from the weight and steadiness of their ships. After much stay in the same place, Mark Antony's men, impatient to attack, from the opinion they had of the strength of their vessels, made their left wing advance; which Cæsar perceiving, made his right wing fall back to decoy his enemy out of the straits. Antony's motion was very agreeable to Cæsar, as he knew Antony had not hands enough to move his ponderous vessels; for which reason they could not strike with their beaks, as was usual in sea fights. Thus Octavius, taking the advantage he had over his antagonist, gained the victory.'

"This battle shewed the judgment of Cæsar, and the little understanding in Mark Antony in what was necessary to work heavy ships; for, if he had had men in proportion

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to the size of his vessels, he would have sunk Octavius's ships at the first shock; but what could be expected from such an imprudent man?

"Let us now see if the Romans thought the Gallic ships preferable to theirs. When Julius Cæsar's fleet was built on the Loire, and had the necessary quantity of men for rowing, as well as pilots and sailors, in order to attack the Vannois, he says,

'The enemy had an advantage from the make of their ships; their bottoms were flatter than ours, and of course they were less liable to be damaged when the tide left them on the shallows; their heads and sterns were high, and better fitted to withstand the violence of the waves of the ocean; they were built with oak; their cross-timbers were a foot square, and fastened with nails of an inch thick; their anchors fastened with iron chains;* their sails were made with pliable and well-prepared skins, more proper to endure the tempestuous winds of the ocean, and give motion to such heavy bodies. It was against such ships, said he, our fleet was to engage, but we surpassed them in quickness of motion, though we could not hurt them with our beaks, they being too strongly built for us; nor could we safely attack them on account of their height; for the same reason they were not afraid of shallow water, nor being left ashore when the tide went off, all which our vessels dreaded.'

"To shew how much fitter the Roman ships were for this purpose than those of the Gauls, we see that, when Cæsar first appeared on the British coast, the natives were astonished at the shape and manner of going of the Roman ships, and at the effect of the Roman engines; which made them fall back, and give Cæsar's army time to land. This demonstrates that the Roman manner of building was fitter for their purpose than M. L'Abbé Cartier thinks; from which we may conclude, that Cæsar thought little about changing his manner of building to copy after an inferior one.

"A farther proof that the Romans would never have copied the Gallic method of building ships in the slow manner which the Gauls made their vessels: the Romans had sure rules, by which every carpenter could work properly, as may be conceived by the great number of ships they built when wanted, and as appears by what these conquerors did

* These iron instruments prove that the Gauls had iron works.

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on the Gallic shore, where Cæsar ordered his army to build* as many vessels as they could while he was in winter quarters; but, as he had observed that 'the waves of the ocean were lessened by going in and out of the tide, he ordered his ships to be less lofty than those built in the Mediterranean, in order to have them drawn on shore with less difficulty; and that they should be broader, in order to carry more burthen, and be lighter for rowing as well as for sailing.'

"At Cæsar's return from winter quarters, he found upwards of 600 ships and 28 galleys built,† though his men had had a hard winter, so desirous were they to follow his orders.

'Cæsar, at the head of five legions, left the Gallic shore with a gentle southerly wind, which fell at midnight. This made the tide carry him to the right; and, at day-break, he perceived Britain on his left-hand, which made him tack about to regain what he had lost in the night, in order to land in the same place which had been so fortunate for his return last campaign. On this occasion his soldiers shewed their desire to make up for lost time, and rowed forward the heavy transports with as much quickness as if they had been galleys; for which Cæsar praised them much.'

"This single instance shews how the Romans could make use of their oars in their ships of burden; and that the ancient vessels were made so as to employ sails and oars at the same time, and, of course, to keep up to the wind nearer than we do in moderate weather.

"The better to prove the improbability of the Romans copying the heavy Gallic ships, we have but to look at the sea-fight before Marseilles, where they had much trouble with twelve great vessels, built in thirty days after they had cut down the trees; the greenness of the wood rendered them so heavy that they could hardly be managed.

"From these premises every one will conclude, that Cæ-

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* This shews that every man could work at ship-building from easy rules, very different from our method, which is attended with an infinity of costly moulds.

† At first sight, it is surprising how the Romans could build such a quantity of ships in a winter; but, if rightly considered, it will be seen, that all the soldiers could make use of saws, axes, augers, and all the necessary tools for working wood; and, as every man who can make use of such instruments can figure timber as he pleases, all the army could be ship-carpenters; and the more so, as the ancients had general and simple rules for ship-building, of course the officers, in the winter-quarters, filled up their time with superintending those works.

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sar never dreamed of changing his manner for that of the clumsy Gallic mode, since, three centuries afterwards, as Appian says,

'The Romans had two thousand light ships, and fifteen hundred vessels with five and six rows of oars; they had also eight hundred large ships, which they named Ptolemiques, for their emperor's pomp, carved and gilt from head to stern.'

"Having said something on what is most remarkable in the ancient ships of war, we must take a little notice of their mercantile vessels. As far as we can discover, their proportions were four breadths for one length, as may be seen in the Wishes of Lucian, when he mentions a large ship, which carried corn from Alexandria to Rome, which, from bad weather, was driven into the Peræum, the port of Athens.

"As the Grecian and Roman seas were not so extensive as those of the ocean, their ships had no need of such strong timbers as we make use of at present; for which reason, we may safely say, that neither the Grecian nor the Roman merchant-ships could cross the long space in the Atlantic Ocean, which separates Europe from America, though they went over the Black Sea, as appears by what follows.

"An ancient author, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, says, that, 'from the northernmost parts of the Black Sea, where the Scythians dwelt in ice and snow, ships have been seen to come, with a good wind, from those frozen countries, and arrive in ten days at Rhodes; after which they have been at Alexandria in four days; and in ten days more went up the Nile into Ethiopia.' *Commerce des Egyptiens.* And thus they could run, in the space of twenty-four days, from the coldest regions to the hottest.

"From what has been seen, ship-builders in those days knew how to make their vessels run from the north part of the Black Sea to Egypt in fourteen days, which shews that the ancients had more knowledge in maritime affairs than generally our sea-faring gentlemen think, who seldom give themselves the trouble of looking into antiquity, where they would find our forefathers had some understanding in the arts as well as ourselves. From what has been said, the Romans had no need to change their system of ship-building for that of the Gauls.

"We allow that M. L'Abbé Cartier's remarks may be curious; but, from the little which authors have said on these matters, how could he imagine such a problematic

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proposition could be believed by the members of the academy? Yet they did believe it. But, from what has been shewn, any body may boldly say, that, nineteen hundred years past, our forefathers could never cross the Atlantic Ocean, and of course could not know America. I have heard indeed, forty years ago, that an Irishman, taken by the savages in America, cried out in his native language; and that the words he spoke had such an effect upon these people, that they thought there was some connexion between the Irish tongue and their own, which induced them to give him his liberty. There, sir, is one more discovery for your inventive antiquaries; it may lead them to the analogy of the Hibernian grammar with that of the Americans, as well as on the arts and sciences, manufactures and commerce, of these wild people.

"But, to shew how cautious writers should be in advancing hypothetical notions, the shortest way to America is more than thirty degrees in longitude, through strong currents and tempestuous oceans, large enough to swallow ten millions of Gallic flat-bottomed ships, rigged I know not how, 'with pliant, well-dressed skins, and anchors fastened to iron chains.'

"Besides, they must have had other methods of working their ships than those they have left us a notion of, to navigate in those dangerous seas, which make the boldest mariner tremble. But to come from that new world, how could they find their way in latitudes where fogs are so thick as to hinder one man's seeing another half way over the ship?

"From what you have seen, sir, it must appear very extraordinary that M. L'Abbé Cartier should conclude so positively from, as he says, 'the little documents which the ancient authors have left us;' but it is still more extraordinary that an academy of antiquaries should have crowned such a work, especially when most of the sea-faring gentlemen of our days are of opinion, that all that has been said of the ancients on their ships of war with oars is fabulous.

"Let these gentlemen remember, that Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries, is very particular in the description of his engagements with the Egyptian ships before Alexandria.

"I do not pretend to give reasons why our writers and mariners do not believe what the ancients have said; but I am persuaded that those who generally comment on ancient arts have very little experience in those of our times, as may be seen in the Encyclopœdie, which are almost

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written and copied by men who make it their business to write on arts they never have practised.

"From this we may conclude, that the knowledge of the ancient arts is not easily obtained from the works of our present writers, who, for instance, name three-banked ships, &c. those with three rows of oars, for want of understanding the practical part; like those translators who understand not the true style of the language, and much less the technical terms of arts, which will ever put in confusion the greatest orator in the world, if he has not experience in the art he speaks of.

"As you see, sir, I have given some reasons to shew how far we are from having a thorough knowledge of the ancient maritime arts, I hope to be excused if I venture an opinion on what I think material for saving ships in many cases, together with a great number of men's lives. I mean to take something from the ancients, and apply it to our manner of acting, for which I should propose a premium: 'For the best manner of tacking about, without sail and with sail, to go in and out of port backwards and forwards without turning, in all weathers except storms or strong winds, as the ancient Greeks and Romans did, this to be done without obstructing the present manner of working ships, one thousand pounds.'

"Many think the French are the best theorists in naval architecture; but their method, as well as those of other nations, appears not to be founded on plain and fixed principles; for the dimensions of their ships they are at variance one with the other. For example, says a builder at Brest, a ship ought to be from 175 to 180 feet long, by 47 to 50 broad, and 22 to 25 in the hold. Vessels of other sizes have no better rules: a frigate of 36 guns, they say, ought to be from 120 to 130 feet in length, by 33 or 34 in breadth, and 16 or 17 in the hold.

"I shall not say that such a diversity of dimensions proves their not having just ideas of the proportions of their art; but I shall make bold to put a few questions to these gentlemen.

"What inconvenience would there be in making a first-rate ship of 200 feet long, and 50 broad, with a hold of 25 feet? It would carry more sail, and go quicker. Such dimensions are so simple that a child could put them in practice, since they give four breadths for one length, and the hold is in the midship. All ships should be made in these proportions, that is, in aliquot parts; then we should be certain which would be best for different uses.

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"To build frigates of 108 or 110 feet long, for thirty guns, merely for the accommodation of metal, is like being guided by accessary parts to find principles for the direction of the whole, whereas it should be the subject which governs the attribute. Nothing, in short, is more apt to lead into difficulties than reasoning from random principles instead of founding them on harmonious rules, which lead to true maxims, and give the first idea of the parts which compose an invention. This ancient manner of reasoning is not easily to be found in the modern contrivers, who seldom or never look out of the track they are in, and even offer premiums to understand a part more of the wrong routine they have ever followed. I am, my good friend, your humble servant,

"W. BLAKEY."

1792, *Sept.*

XVII. A Fragment of History relative to the Revolution.

Mr. URBAN,

I Herewith send you part of a letter from Dr. Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, to bishop Campbell, at London, which is the more curious, as I have never seen it noticed in any collection of papers, or history of the times to which it refers. It accounts for the conduct of the Scots Episcopal Clergy at the Revolution, and for the suppression of the order of bishops in that kingdom. From this letter, likewise, it may fairly be inferred, that, if the Scots bishops had followed the example of their brethren in England, episcopacy would not only have been tolerated but established in Scotland; and that king William would have been much better pleased to have countenanced the bishops there than the Presbyterians, if the bishops would have undertaken to have supported his cause. But from the perusal of the original, the reader will naturally draw his own conclusion.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

Y. D.

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Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, to Bishop Campbell, at London.

October, 22, 1713.

——BECAUSE you desire a short history of my own proceedings and conduct when in London, at the late revolution, I shall, for your satisfaction and that of others, set down a short and plain sum of it, which is as follows.

When in October 1688, the Scots bishops came to know the intended invasion by the prince of Orange, a good many of them being then at Edinburgh, meeting together, concerted and sent up a loyal address to the king. Afterwards, in November, finding that the prince was landed, and foreseeing the dreadful convulsions that were like to ensue, and not knowing what damages might arise thence both to church and state, resolved to send up two of their number to the king, with a renewed tender of their duty; instructing them also to wait on the bishops of England for their advice and assistance, in case that any unlucky thing might possibly happen to occur with respect to our church: this resolution being taken, it was represented by the two archbishops to his majesty's privy council, (in which the lord Perth sat as chancellor) and was agreed to and approved of by them. Whereupon, at the next meeting of the bishops, it was not thought fit, even by the archbishops themselves, that any of them (though they were men of the greatest ability and experience) should go up, as being less acceptable to the English bishops, from their having consented to the taking off the sanguinary laws against the Papists, and so that undertaking was devolved over upon Dr. Bruce, bishop of Orkney, and me; he having suffered for not agreeing to that project, and I not concerned, as not being a bishop at that time; and accordingly a commission was drawn up and signed for us two, December 3d, 1688. The bishop of Orkney promising to come back from that country in eight or ten days time, that we might journey together, occasioned my stay; but when that time was elapsed, I had a letter from him, signifying that he had fallen very ill, and desiring me to go up post, as soon as I could, promising to follow as soon as health would serve: whereupon I took post, and in a few days coming to Northallerton, where hearing of the king's having left Rochester, I stood doubtful with myself, whether to go forward or return; but considering the various and contradictory accounts I had

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got all along upon the road, and that, in case of the king's retirement, matters would be so much the more dark and perplexed, I resolved to go on, that I might be able to give just accounts of things to my brethren here, from time to time, and have the advice of English bishops, whom I never doubted to find unalterably firm to their master's interest. And as this was the occasion of my coming to London, so by reason of the continuance of the bishop of Orkney's illness, that difficult task fell to my share alone.

The next day after my arrival at London, I waited on the archbishop of Canterbury, (to whom I had the honour to be known, some three years before) and after my presenting, and his Grace's reading, my commission, his grace said that matters were very dark, and the cloud so thick or gross that they could not see through it; they knew not well what to do for themselves, and far less what advice to give me; that there was to be a meeting of bishops with him that day, and desired me to see him a week thereafter. I next waited on the then bishop of St. Asaph, (being my acquaintance also) who treated me in such a manner that I could not but see through his inclinations; wherefore I resolved to visit him no more, nor to address myself to any others of that order, till I should have occasion to learn something farther about them: wherefore the week thereafter I repaired again to Lambeth, and told his grace all that had passed between St. Asaph and me, who smiling replied, that St. Asaph was a good man, but an angry man, and withall told me, that matters still continued dark, and that it behoved me to wait the issue of their convention, which he suspected was only that which could give light, and open the scene; but withall desired me to come to him from time to time, and if any thing occurred, he would signify it to me. In that wearisome season, (wearisome to me, because acquainted with few, save those of our own countrymen, and of those I knew not whom to trust) I waited on the bishop of London, and entreated him to speak to the prince, to put a stop to the persecutions of our clergy, but to no purpose. I was also with the then Dr. Burnet, upon the same design, but with no success, who told me he did not meddle in Scots affairs. I was also earnestly desired by the bishop of London, and the then viscount of Tarbat, and some other Scots peers, to wait upon the prince, and to present him with an address upon that head. I asked whether I or my address would readily meet with acceptance or success, if it did not compliment the prince upon his descent, to deliver us from popery and slavery; they said

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that was absolutely necessary. I told them I was neither instructed by my constituents to do so, neither had I myself clearness to do it, and that in these terms I neither could or would either visit or address his highness. In that season also, I had the honour to be acquainted, and several times visited the worthy Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely, whose conversation was very useful to me, and every way agreeable. And besides these bishops already mentioned, I had not the honour to be acquainted with any other, and thus the whole time of the convention was passed off, excepting what was spent in necessary duties, and visiting our countrymen, even until the day that the dark scene was opened by the surprising vote of abdication; on which I went over to Lambeth: what passed there betwixt his grace and me (being all private) it is both needless, and would be very tedious, and perchance not so very proper to write it. In the close, I told his grace that I would make ready to go home, and only wait on his grace once more before I took my journey.

While I was making my visits of leave to my countrymen, I was surprizingly told that some two or three of them, attempting to go home without passes, were the first stage stopt upon the road, and that none were to expect passes without waiting on the prince. Whereupon I repaired again to Lambeth, to have his grace's advice, who considering the necessity of that compliment, agreed to my making it. Upon my applying to the bishop of London to introduce me, his lordship asked me whether I had any thing to say to the king (so was the stile in England then): I replied I had nothing to say, save that I was going for Scotland, being a member of the convention; for I understood that without waiting on the prince, (that being the most common Scots stile) I could not have a pass, and that without that, I must needs be stopt upon the road, as several of my countrymen had been. His lordship asked me again, saying, seeing the clergy have been, and are so routed, and barbarously treated by the Presbyterians, will you not speak to the king to put a stop to that, and in favour of your own clergy? My reply was, that the prince had been often applied to in that matter by several of the nobility, and addressed also by the sufferers themselves, and yet all to no purpose, wherefore I could have no hopes that my intercessions would be of any avail; but if his lordship thought otherwise, I would not decline to make them. His lordship asked me farther, whether any of our countrymen would go along with me, and spoke partly of sir George

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Mackenzie. I replied I doubted nothing of that, whereupon his lordship bid me find him out, that both he and I should be at court that day, against three in the afternoon, and that he would surely be there to introduce us; all which (I having found sir George) imparted to him, who liked it very well, and said it was a good occasion, and wished that several of our nobility might be advertised by us to be there also; to which I replied, that I doubted much, whether coming in a body, he (the prince) would give us access; and that our nobility would be much offended at us, if, coming to court upon our invitation, access should be denied them, and therefore I thought it best that we alone should meet the bishop at the time appointed, and advise with him what was fit to be done; which was agreed to: and upon our meeting with the bishop, sir George made that overture to his lordship, which he closing with very warmly, said he would go into the king, and see if he would appoint a time for the Scots episcopal nobility and gentry to wait upon him in favour of the clergy of Scotland, so sadly persecuted. Whereupon the bishop leaving us in a room of Whitehall, near adjoining to the place where the prince was, stayed above a full half-hour from us, and upon his return told us, the king's answer was, that he would not allow us to come to him in a body, lest that might give jealousy and umbrage to the Presbyterians, neither would he permit them (for the same reason) to come to him in numbers; and that he would not allow above two of either party at a time to speak to him on church matters.

Then the bishop directing his discourse to me, said, My lord, you see that the king, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. And the king bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while there, he was made believe that Scotland, generally all over, was Presbyterians, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort are for presbytery; wherefore he bids me tell you, that, if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.

My answer to this was, My lord, I cannot but thank the

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prince for his frankness and offer; but withall I must tell your lordship, that, when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have seen now in England, and therefore I neither was, nor could be, instructed by them what answer to make to the prince's offer, and therefore what I say, is not in their name, but only my private opinion; which is, that I truly think they will not serve the prince so as he is served in England, that is, as I take it, to make him their king, nor give their suffrage for his being king; and though as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say, that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have, or may expect to have, in Britain. Upon this the bishop commended my openness and ingenuity, and said he believed it was so; for, says he, all the time you have been here, neither have you waited on the king, nor have any of your brethren, the Scots bishops, made any address to him, so the king must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.

Immediately upon this, the prince going somewhere abroad, comes through our room, and sir George Mackenzie takes leave of him, in very few words. I applied to the bishop, and said, My lord, there is now no farther place for application, in our church matters, and this opportunity for taking leave of the prince is lost; wherefore I beg that your lordship would introduce me for that effect, if you can, next day about ten or eleven in the forenoon, which his lordship promised and performed; and upon my being admitted into the prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me, by saying, My lord, are you going for Scotland? My reply was, Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me. Then he said, I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England; wherefore being somewhat difficulted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer, without entangling myself, I readily replied, Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience will allow me. How this answer pleased I cannot well tell, but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the prince, without saying any more, turned away from me and went back to his company. Considering what had passed the day before, I was much surprised to find the prince accost me in these terms; but I presume, that either the bishop (not having time) had not acquainted him with what had passed, or that the prince proposed to try what might be made of me by the honour he did me of that immediate de-

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mand. And as that was the first, so it was the last time, I had the honour to speak with his highness. The things I write were not only upon the matter, but in the self-same individual words, that I have set them down. Whether what the bishop of London delivered as from the prince, was so, or not, I cannot certainly say; but I think his lordship's word was good enough for that: or whether the prince would have stood by his promise, of casting off the Presbyterians and protecting us, in case we had come in to his interest, I will not determine; though this seems the most probable to me, and that for these reasons: he had the Presbyterians sure on his side, both from inclination and interest, many of them having come over with him, and the rest having appeared so warmly for him, that with no good grace, imaginable, could they return to king James's interest; next by gaining, as he might presume to gain, the episcopal nobility and gentry, which he saw was a great party, and consequently that king James would be deprived of his principal support; then he saw what a hardship it would be upon the church of England, and of what bad consequence to see episcopacy ruined in Scotland; who no doubt would have vigorously interposed for us, if we by our carriage could have been brought to justify their measures.

And I am the more confirmed in this, for after my coming down here, my lord St. Andrew and I taking occasion to wait on duke Hamilton, his grace told us, a day or two before the sitting down of the convention, that he had it in special charge from king William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of episcopacy in Scotland, in case the bishops could by any means be brought to befriend his interest, and prayed us most pathetically for our own sake to follow the example of the church of England; to which my lord St. Andrew replied, that both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the king's interest, and that we were by God's grace to stand by it in the face of all dangers, and to the greatest losses; subjoining that his grace's quality and influence put it in his hands to do his majesty the greatest honour; and if he acted otherwise, it might readily lie as a heavy tache and curse both upon himself and his family. I can say no more for want of paper, save that I am as before,——

ALEX. EDINB.

1774, *April.*

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XVIII. Account of King John's Death, from an ancient MS.

Mr. URBAN,

I SEND you herewith, copied from an ancient MS. in my possession, an account of the death of king John, which Rapin rejects, (and his translator after him), because no contemporary writer mentions the same, and on the improbability of a man poisoning himself to be revenged of another. A dissertator on the history of this reign however (whose tract is added to the fifth volume of the last octavo edition) gives very good reasons for receiving this account, which (according to Mr. Tindal) is first mentioned in English by Caxton, a monk. Whether this MS. history, which is continued down to the beginning of the reign of Edward the third, and comes with internal evidence of being the production of a monkish writer, be written by that Caxton, I leave to some of your ingenious correspondents to determine.

" The barons of Engelond had so huge partye and helpe thurgh Lowys the kynges sone of Fraunce, that kyng John wist not whider for to turne, ne gone; and so it felle, that he wolde have gon to Nichole,* and as he wente thiderward he come to the abbey of Swyneshened,† and ther he abode ij dayes. And as he sat at mete, he axed a monke of the hows, how meche a lof was worth that was set byfore hym at the table; and the monke seide that the lof was worth but an halfpenny. " O, quod he, tho here is gret chepe of breed; now, quod the kyng, & I may lyve such a lof schal be worth xxd. or half yeer be agon." And when he had seyd this word mych he thoghte & oft tyme siked, and nome‡ & ete of the breed, and seyd, " be God the word I have spoke it schal be soth " The monke that stode before the kyng, was for this woord fol sory in herte, & thoghte rathere he wold hymselfe souffre pitous deth, and thoght if he myghte ordeigne therefore some maner remedye. And anone the monke went to his abbot, & was schreven § of hym & told the abbot al that the kyng seyde, and prayed his abbot for to assoyle ‖ him, for he wold geve the kyng such a watsayll ¶ that all Engelond schuld be glad thereof,

* Lincoln. *Rapin.* † Swines-head, or Swinstead. ‡ took.
§ confessed by him. ‖ to give him absolution.
¶ Watsayll, wassail or wassel, a Saxon phrase used on drinking healths, literally signifying your health; from thence the bowl used on this occasion

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& joyfull. Tho went the monke into a gardyn, & fonde a gret tode therin; & nome her up, & put here in a cuppe, & felled it with good good able, & prickked the tode thurgh with a broche * meny tymes, tul that the venyme come out in eche side, in to the cuppe. And tho nome the cuppe & broght it before the kyng, and knelyng seyde, "Sir, quod he, watsayll, for never dayes of youre lyf ne dronk ye of such a cuppe." "The begynne, monke," quod the kyng; & the monke dranke a gret draught & toke the kyng the cuppe & the king, also dranke a gret draught, and set doun the cuppe. The monke anon right went into the fermery,† & ther dide anon, on whos soule God have mercy. Amen. And fyve monkes syngen for his soule speciallich,‡ & schul while the abbey stant. The kyng aros up anon ful evyl at ese, & commanded to remove the table, and axed after the monke, and men told hym that he was dede, for his wombe was broke in sunder. When the kyng herd this tydynge he commanded for to trusse, but al it was for noght for his bely began so to swelle for the drynk that he drank, that he dide withinne ij dayes aftir in the castell of Newerk, and his body was yburyed at Wynchestre.§"

1785, *March.*

XIX. Memoirs of Richard Plantagenet, (a natural Son of King Richard III.) who died 22d. Dec. 1550. (4. Edw. VI.) In a Letter from Dr. Thomas Brett, to Dr. William Warren, President of Trinity Hall.

Dear WILL,

* * * * NOW for the story of Richard Plantagenet. In the year 1720, (I have forgot the particular day, only remember it was about Michaelmas) I waited on the late lord Heneage, earl of Winchelsea, at Eastwell-house, and found him sitting with the register of the parish of Eastwell lying open before him. He told me, that he had been looking there to see who of his own family were mentioned in it. But, says he, I have a curiosity here to show you.

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was called a wassel-bowl. John being descended from the Saxon race of kings, the monk's address on this occasion was peculiarly flattering, and may be supposed very pleasing to the king.

* A spit, or any sharp instrument. It is a French word.

† The Infirmary. ‡ Specially appointed.

§ It should be Worcester.

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And then shewed me, and I immediately transcribed it into my almanack, "Richard Plantagenet was buryed the 22d. daye of December, anno ut supra. Ex Registro de Eastwell, sub anno, 1550." This is all the register mentions of him; so that we cannot say, whether he was buried in the church or church-yard; nor is there now any other memorial of him except the tradition in the family, and some little marks where his house stood. The story my lord told me was this:

When sir Thomas Moyle built that house, (Eastwell-Place) he observed his chief bricklayer, whenever he left off work retired with a book. Sir Thomas had curiosity to know what book the man read; but was some time before he could discover it; he still putting the book up if any one came toward him. However, at last, sir Thomas surprised him, and snatched the book from him; and looking into it, found it to be Latin. Hereupon, he examined him, and finding he pretty well understood that language, he enquired, how he came by his learning: hereupon, the man told him, as he had been a good master to him, he would venture to trust him with a secret he had never before revealed to any one. He then informed him, that he was boarded with a Latin school-master, without knowing who his parents were, till he was fifteen or sixteen years old; only a gentleman (who took occasion to acquaint him he was no relation to him) came once a quarter, and paid for his board, and took care to see that he wanted nothing. And, one day, this gentleman took him, and carried him to a fine great house, where he passed through several stately rooms, in one of which he left him, bidding him stay there.

Then a man, finely drest, with a star and garter, came to him; asked him some questions, talked kindly to him, and gave him some money. Then the fore-mentioned gentleman returned, and conducted him back to his school.

Some time after, the same gentleman came to him again, with a horse and proper accoutrements, and told him, he must take a journey with him into the country. They went into Leicestershire, and came to Bosworth field; and he was carried to king Richard III's tent. The king embraced him, and told him he was his son. "But, child," says he, "to-morrow I must fight for my crown. And, assure yourself, if I lose that, I will lose my life too: but I hope to preserve both. Do you stand in such a place, (directing him to a particular place) where you may see the battle, out of danger. And when I have gained the victory, come

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to me; I will then own you to be mine, and take care of you. But, if I should be so unfortunate as to lose the battle, then shift as well as you can, and take care to let nobody know that I am your father; for no mercy will be shewed to any one so nearly related to me." Then the king gave him a purse of gold, and dismissed him.

He followed the king's directions. And, when he saw the battle was lost, and the king killed, he hasted to London, sold his horse and fine clothes; and the better to conceal himself from all suspicion of being son to a king, and that he might have means to live by his honest labour, he put himself apprentice to a bricklayer. But, having a competent skill in the Latin tongue, he was unwilling to lose it; and having an inclination also to reading, and no delight in the conversation of those he was obliged to work with, he generally spent all the time he had to spare in reading by himself.

Sir Thomas said, "You are now old, and almost past your labour; I will give you the running of my kitchen as long as you live." He answered, "Sir, you have a numerous family; I have been used to live retired; give me leave to build a house of one room for myself, in such a field, and there, with your good leave, I will live and die." Sir Thomas granted his request; he built his house, and there continued to his death.

I suppose (though my lord did not mention it) that he went to eat in the family, and then retired to his hut. My lord said, that there was no park at that time; but when the park was made, that house was taken into it, and continued standing till his (my lord's) father pulled it down. "But," said my lord, "I would as soon have pulled down this house;" meaning Eastwell-place.

I have been computing the age of this Richard Plantagenet when he died, and find it to be about 81. For Richard III. was killed August 23, 1485, (which subtracted from 1550, there remains 65) to which add 16, (for the age of Richard Plantagenet at that time) and it makes 81. But, though he lived to that age, he could scarcely enjoy his retirement in his little house above two or three years, or a little more. For I find by Philpot, that sir Thomas Moyle did not purchase the estate of Eastwell, till about the year 1543 or 4. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that, upon his building a new house on his purchase, he could not come to live in it till 1546, but that his workmen were continued to build the walls about his gardens, and other conveniences off from the house. And till he came to live in

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the house, he could not well have an opportunity of observing how Richard Plantagenet retired with his book. So that it was probably towards the latter end of the year 1546, when Richard and sir Thomas had the fore-mentioned dialogue together. Consequently, Richard could not build his house, and have it dry enough for him to live in, till the year 1547. So that he must be 77 or 78 years of age before he had his writ of ease. * * *

I am,

Dear Brother Will,

Your humble servant,

THO. BRETT.

Spring Grove, Sept. 1, 1733.

The Story of Richard Plantagenet authenticated.

Sir,

THE anecdote concerning Richard Plantagenet, natural son of our king Richard III. reprinted in your last magazine from Mr. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, I observe, has been from thence republished in some of the evening papers. A gentleman, however, who signs R. T. in the St. James's Chronicle of August 8, seems to entertain some doubt concerning the authenticity of that story, for he says, "At that time (that is, when the *Desiderata Curiosa* were published) I was informed that there was not the least foundation for the story, the whole being forged with a view to impose upon the credulity of Mr. Peck, by a person who certainly succeeded, if that was his design." Now sir, Dr. Thomas Brett, of Spring Grove, near Eastwell, was the person that penned the story, or that first put down the traditionary account in writing, with a view of obliging his countryman, Dr. William Warren, who was then fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and there resident. Dr. Brett and Dr. Warren, both of whom I well know, were very serious men, and incapable of forming a design of imposing upon any body, in a point of history especially, and this is no more than a piece of justice which I owe to their irreproachable characters. The gentleman goes on, "the truth of the relation may be easily established, or refuted, by searching into the register of Eastwell; and therefore if any of your correspondents will give themselves the trouble of enquiring into the reality of this strange and improbable story, it will be esteemed a particular favour by your constant reader, &c." If by the reality of the story, he means the whole of the anecdote, I profess I can neither give, nor

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procure any further account of Richard Plantagenet than what Dr. Brett has given, the parties being long since dead; and can only say, that when I lived in the neighbourhood of Eastwell, which I did many years, the tradition very currently ran, as the doctor has delivered it; but if R. T. will be content with a literal extract from the old register of Eastwell, concerning the person in question, I am ready to oblige him in that, by assuring him, that I copied verbatim, above thirty years ago the following entry from thence.

'Richard Plantagenet was buryed the 22d daye of December anno ut supra.' i. e. 1550.

All I shall farther say, is, and this I think may give some satisfaction, that Richard III. certainly had a bastard son of the name of Richard, see Mr. Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 117, where you will find, that he was knighted, when a youth, by his father, at York.

I am, Sir,

Yours,

T. Row.*

Sir, *Aug.* 10th, 1767.

How true the story of Richard Plantagenet may be, I cannot say; but the words of the register of Eastwell, are exactly as quoted by Dr. Brett.—It is also remarkable, that, in the same register, whenever any of noble family was buried, this V mark is prefixed to the name; and the same mark is put to that of Richard Plantagenet.

P. Parsons,

Rector of Eastwell.

1767, *July, Aug.*

XX. Body lately found at Reading not that of Henry I.

Mr. Urban, *Dec.* 16.

I WAS much surprised, in reading your last magazine, to find a letter from one of your correspondents, who signs himself F. Pigott, in which he laments a sacrilege committed on the supposed bones of king Henry I. which were, some time since, dug up amidst the ruins of Reading Abbey. I have hitherto been withheld from troubling you with my remarks on that circumstance, by a consciousness

* The papers with this signature, as well as with that of *Paul Gemsege*, are from the pen of the late Rev. Dr. Samuel Pegge.

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of the little skill I possess in antiquarian researches: nor should I now have ventured to assert my opinion against one so much my superior both in years and knowledge as Mr. P. did not that gentleman's mis-information, and his mis-statement of facts, arising probably from that cause, render some answer indispensably necessary.

Mr. P. informs us, that, "in digging a foundation for a house of correction, on the spot where the old abbey stood, a vault was discovered, the only one there, and which was of curious workmanship; that in the vault was a leaden coffin almost devoured by time; that a perfect skeleton was contained therein, which undoubtedly was the king's, from the distinguished appearance of the coffin, and the vault in which it was interred, and more particularly from several fragments of rotten leather found in the coffin, the body of that king being said to have been wrapped in tanned ox-hides." If it should be proved that these assertions of Mr. P. are well-founded, and that it really was the body of the king, no one, I trust, will hesitate to join with him in condemning the sacrilege he mentions; but if, on the contrary, it should appear that there is every reason to believe them groundless, there will be little need for those lamentations which Mr. P. has so liberally poured fourth.

A leaden coffin was indeed dug up about eighteen inches beneath the surface. But no appearance whatever of a vault was discovered. I was myself at Reading a few days after, and saw the spot where it was taken up. The whole breadth of the chasm could not be more than two feet, and there was nothing which could lead to a supposition that there ever had been a vault. This intelligence is confirmed by a friend, who was himself a spectator, and who has since, at my request, made particular enquiries on the spot. As Mr. P. has adduced the vault as an argument that it really was the body of Henry I. if no vault was discovered, the argument will at least be of equal force, that it was not his body. All writers agree that he was buried with great state. "Corpus regium de Normannia ad Radingum allatum est, et aromatibus conditum, et post tres menses solenniter in eadem ecclesia, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, venerabilem sepulturam, quam vivus posuit, præsente rege Stephano cum multis magnatibus, accepit." *Matth. Westminst.* p. 35. fol. Lond. 1570. "Cadaver regis apud Radingum, in ecclesia, quam ipse fundaverat, regaliter est sepultum, præsentibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et magnatibus regni." *Math. Paris.* p. 74, ed. *Wats.* Lond. 1640. "Corpus deportatur ad Redyngium oppidum, magnaque

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funerali pompa sepulturæ datur." *Polydore Vergil*, p. 193, ed. Basil. 1534. It is not therefore improbable, as so much ceremony was used in his funeral, that it should be extended also to the place, and that he should be laid in something better than a common grave, especially as we find mention made of his tomb: Pat. 21 Ric. II. p. 3. m. 16, "confirm. libertatum, modo abbas intra unum annum honeste repararet tumbam et imaginem regis Henrici fundatoris ibidem humati." *Tann. Notitia Monastica*, p. 15, Lond. 1744.

There is another circumstance which makes still more against it. He is said, by writers of good authority, to have been buried in the church. "His bodie was conveied into England, and buried at Reading, within the abbey church which he had founded." *Holinsh. Chron.* vol. III. p 45. "This town king Henry I. most stately beautified with a rich monastery, where, in the collegiate church of the abbey, himself and queene (who both lay veiled and crowned), with their daughter Maud the empresse, called the lady of England, were interred, as the private history of the place avoucheth, though others bestow the bodies of these two queenes elsewhere." *Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, p. 27, ed. Lond. 1614. One writer specifies the spot as before the altar: "Corpus itaque Radingas delatum cum honore debito in ipsa ecclesia *ante altare* sepultum est." *Gervase of Cant.* v. *Historiæ Angliæ Scriptores Decem.* p. 1340, ed. Lond. 1652. From these evidences, and from other conclusions, there appears every reason to believe that he was buried there. Now, by the plan of this church, ingeniously and accurately traced by sir Henry Englefield, bart. v. *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 61, it appears, that the extreme boundary on the eastern side is at the distance of about 180 feet from the piece of wall, against which a small house is built. The distance of the spot where the coffin was dug up from the abovementioned piece of wall is about 240 feet towards the east, and about 24 towards the south, which can never have been within the limits of the church.

The account of the fragments of rotten leather, I own, stumbled me much. I found your correspondent's information, that Henry I. was wrapped in tanned ox-hides, confirmed by almost every writer who has mentioned his death. This appeared to carry much weight with it, and, of circumstantial evidences, was indeed one of the strongest that could be adduced. I accordingly applied to a friend on the

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spot to send me the most minute intelligence with respect to the leather; and from his letter, which is now before me, it is plain they can have no authority in the present question. I will give you his own words: "So far from the pieces of leather giving an indication of its being Henry I. that the plumber assured me those pieces were the remnants of an old slipper, which, though perfect when discovered, crumbled to pieces as soon as touched, and left nothing of its shape and form but the stitches, which were very discernible." His account of the coffin is, that it was about eight feet long, seven inches high, roofed at the top, the ridge fluted, and remarkably thick with lead; that the lid was ornamented with a few studs in form of diamonds; that there was an inscription in brass, which was sent to the Antiquarian Society, undistinguishable except the two initial letters, which the plumber does not now recollect. He further adds, that the skull was examined by a very skilful and experienced surgeon of Reading, who gave it as his opinion, that it was of a young person under thirty years of age; and that the plumber assured him he had not the least idea that it could be the coffin of Henry I. from the state of the lead, which was cast in the modern manner, as they had not at that time attained to so great perfection in casting it.

There seems, therefore, every reason to suppose that it was not the body of Henry I. It is probable he was buried in a vault; but no vault was here discovered: the spot where the coffin was found by no means agrees with the place of his burial, mentioned by historians; the fragments of rotten leather, the only argument which seemed to be of weight, are proved to have no authority; and, from other appearances, there are evident marks both of a later date, and of a younger person. Perhaps also the length of the coffin may be some proof against it, as Henry is said to have been of middling stature.

But there is another circumstance, which, if true, will put the matter past all doubt. It is expressly said by Sandford, that, at the Reformation, his tomb was destroyed, and his bones thrown out: "But well might the memory thereof (his monument) perish, and be buried in the rubbish of oblivion, when the bones of this prince could not enjoy repose in his grave (not more happy in a quiet sepulchre than the two Norman Williams, his father and brother), but were (upon the suppression of the religious houses in the reign of king Henry VIII.) thrown out, to make room for a stable of

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horses, and the whole monastery converted to a dwelling-house. He then quotes these verses, which are also in Camden,

"Hæccine sed pietas? heu! dira piacula, primum
Neustrius Henricus situs hic inglorius urna,
Nunc jacet ejectus, tumulum novus advena quærit
Frustra; nam regi tenues invidit arenas
Auri sacra fames, regum metuenda sepulchris."
Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 28, Lond. 1683. *Camden*, p. 143, ed. Gibson, Lond. 1695.

We know how the intolerant zeal of the reformers operated, when the most stately abbies, and the most venerable remains of ancient architecture, were laid without distinction in the general ruin. The abbey of Reading in particular bears marks of the most unwearied industry employed in its destruction. One of the principal charges against the duke of Somerset, under whom others relate this abbey was destroyed, is his fury in the demolition of tombs. Several writers expressly confirm the fact of the demolition of that of Henry I. It is not, therefore, probable that the rage of the destroyers would stop here; that they would spare the bones of him whose tomb they were demolishing, and whose edifices they were levelling in the dust.

In discoveries like the present, where any thing curious is expected, it is impossible to restrain the minds of the common people, who will infallibly take those steps by which most money may be obtained. It is not therefore wonderful if many of the bones were taken away, with the hopes of selling them as valuable remains, and the coffin immediately disposed of. Your correspondent, however, may rest satisfied with this assurance, that, as soon as the thing was known, there was an immediate order from the mayor that no bones should be carried away, and that they were most of them peaceably deposited again with the rest that were dug up. As to the coffin, as it had nothing remarkable in it, its loss is not much to be lamented. The end of all antiquities seems to be, by collecting the remains of our ancestors, to obtain more certain information concerning them, to mark their progress in arts and science, and, by an attentive survey of their productions, to strike out improvements for the benefit of the living. Those antiquities, therefore, which are regarded merely for their antiquity, are of little intrinsic value. If they elucidate no

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point in history, if they tend not to ascertain the state of ancient manners or of ancient art, mankind will be little the better for them. They may at first be regarded with some degree of enthusiasm; but that will be confined to the antiquary himself, and with him it will soon subside, when the mind is at leisure to consider their uselessness.

I readily agree with your correspondent in his encomiums on the late Mr. Spicer; but he is much mistaken if he thinks there are not still many gentlemen in Reading, who would be equally active in preventing any thing that bore the appearance of the sacrilege he mentions.

Mr. P. is guilty of a little mistake in mentioning Henry the first's death as on the second of September. He will find it corrected in the note at the bottom of page 199, vol. I. of Rapin, ed. Lond. 1732. John Brompton, Matthew of Paris, Henry of Huntingdon, and Roger Hoveden, say December the first; Matthew of Westminster, and Gervase of Canterbury, Dec. 2. The fact is, he died at midnight, Dec. 1, which might easily occasion this variation. "Calendas Decembris qua nocte decessit." William of Malmsbury. Vide *Rerum Angl. Script. post Bedam*, p. 100, ed. Lond. 1596.

Yours, &c.

JUVENIS.

1786, *January.*

XXI. The Testimony of Clement Maydestone, that the Body of King Henry IV. was thrown into the Thames, and not buried at Canterbury. Translated from a Latin Manuscript in the Library of Benet-College, Cambridge, M.XIV.XCVIII.

THIRTY days after the death of Henry IV,* one of his domestics came to the house of the Holy Trinity, in Hounslow, and dined there. And as the by-standers were talking at dinner-time of that king's irreproachable morals, this man said to a certain esquire, named Thomas Maydestone, then sitting at table, "Whether he was a good man or not, God knows; but of this I am certain, that when his corpse was carried from Westminster towards Canterbury, in a small vessel, in order to be buried there, I and two more, threw

* Henry IV. died Sept. 14, 1412.

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his corpse into the sea, between Berkengum and Gravesend. And (he added with an oath) we were overtaken by such a storm of winds and waves, that many of the nobility, who followed us in eight ships, were dispersed, so as with difficulty to escape being lost. But we, who were with the body, dispairing of our lives, with one consent threw it into the sea; and a great calm ensued. The coffin in which it lay, covered with cloth of gold, we carried with great solemnity to Canterbury, and buried it. The monks of Canterbury, therefore say, that the tomb [not the body] of Henry IV. is with us. As Peter said of holy David, Acts xi."

As God Almighty is my witness and judge, I saw this man, and heard him swear to my father, Thomas Maydestone, that all the above was true.

1767, *July.* CLEMENT MAYDESTONE.

Testimonium Henrici quarti corpus fuisse in Thamesin projectum et non tumulatum Cantuariæ. (MSS. C.C.C.C. M. 14, 197.)

"Post mortem ejusdem regis accidit quoddam mirabile ad prædicti Domini Richardi Archipræsulis gloriam declarandam et æternæ memoriæ commendandam. Nam infra triginta dies post mortem regis Henrici quarti venit quidem vir de familia ejusdem ad domum Sanctæ Trinitatis de Houndeslowe, vescendi causa; et cum in prandio sermonizarent circumstantes de probitate morum ipsius regis, respondet prædictus vir cuidam armigero vocato Thomæ de Maydestone, in eadem mensa tunc sedenti, si fuerit vir bonus novit Deus, sed hoc scio verissime quod cum a Westmon' corpus ejus versus Cantuariam in parva navicula portaretur ibidem sepeliendum, ego fui unus de tribus personis qui projecerunt corpus ejus in mare inter Berkingham et Gravesend; et addidit cum juramento, tanta tempestas ventorum et fluctuum irruit super nos, quo multi nobiles sequentes nos in naviculis octo in numero dispersi sunt, ut vix mortis periculum evaserunt; nos vero qui eramus cum corpore in desperatione vitæ nostræ positi cum assensu projecimus illud in mare, et facta est tranquillitas magna: cistam vero in qua jacebat panno deaurato coopertam cum maximo honore Cantuariam deportavimus, et sepelevimus eam. Dicant ergo monachi Cantuariæ quod sepulchrum regis Henrici quarti est apud nos, non corpus sicut dixit Petrus de S'to David.

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Deus omnipotens est testis et judex quod ego Clemens Maydestone vidi virum illum, et audivi ipsum jurantem patri meo Thomæ Maydestone omnia prædicta fore vera."

1794, *Nov.*

XXII. An Hour-glass found in a Coffin.

Sir,

IN June 1718, as I was walking into the field, I stopt in Clerkenwell church-yard to see a grave-digger at work. He had dug pretty deep, and was come to a coffin, which had laid so long it was quite rotten, and the plate eaten so with rust, that we could not read any thing of the inscription. In clearing away the rotten pieces of wood, the grave-digger found an hour-glass close to the left side of the skull, with sand in it, the wood of which was so rotten that it broke where he took hold of it. Being a lover of antiquity, I bought it of him, and took a draught of it as it then appeared: some time after, mentioning this affair in company of some antiquarians, they told me, that it was an ancient custom to put an hour-glass into the coffin, as an emblem of the sand of life being run out; others conjectured, that little hour-glasses were, anciently given at funerals, like rosemary, and by the friends of the dead, put in the coffin, or thrown into the grave. I send you also one of the glasses, (being two inches and a half high, and two inches greatest diameter), which you will observe to be tarnished by lying in the earth, and to have various colours, if held so as that the light may be reflected from it to the eye.

Yours,

W. P.

1746, *Dec.*

XXIII. Of Burial Garlands.

Sir,

BEING a constant reader of your instructive, as well as diverting magazine, I take the liberty to present you with some remarks on a passage in that of December last, which

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gives an account of an hour-glass, found in a grave in Clerkenwell church-yard; and that some antiquarians supposed, that it was an ancient custom to put an hour-glass into the coffin, as an emblem of the sand of life being run out; others conjectured that little hour-glasses were anciently given at funerals, like rosemary, and by the friends of the dead put in the coffin or the grave.

But I fear neither of these customs can be proved by the works of any authentic author; besides, had such been the use or custom, certainly these glasses, or at least fragments of them, would be more frequently discovered. Give me leave, sir, therefore, to offer what I flatter myself will seem a more probable reason for the hour-glass's interment.

In this nation (as well as others) by the abundant zeal of our ancestors, virginity was held in great estimation; insomuch that those which died in that state were rewarded, at their deaths, with a garland or crown on their heads, denoting their triumphant victory over the lusts of the flesh. Nay, this honour was extended even to a widow that had enjoyed but one husband (saith Weaver in his *Fun. Mon.* p. 12). And, in the year 1733, the present clerk of the parish church of Bromley in Kent, by his digging a grave in that church-yard, close to the east end of the chancel wall, dug up one of these crowns, or garlands, which is most artificially wrought in filagree work with gold and silver wire, in resemblance of myrtle (with which plant the funebrial garlands of the ancients were composed,*) whose leaves are fastened to hoops of larger wire of iron, now something corroded with rust, but both the gold and silver remains to this time very little different from its original splendor. It was also lined with cloth of silver, a piece of which, together with part of this curious garland, I keep as a choice relic of antiquity.

Besides these crowns, the ancients had also their depository garlands, the use of which were continued even till of late years (and perhaps are still retained in many parts of this nation, for my own knowledge of these matters extends not above twenty or thirty miles round London) which garlands, at the funerals of the deceased, were carried solemnly before the corpse by two maids, and afterward hung up in some conspicuous place within the church, in memorial of the departed person, and were (at least all that I have seen)

* Sir Thomas Brown's Misc. Tracts, p. 29.

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made after the following manner, viz. the lower rim, or circlet, was a broad hoop of wood, whereunto were fixed, at the sides thereof, part of two other hoops crossing each other at the top, at right angles, which formed the upper part, being about one third longer than the width; these hoops were wholly covered with artificial flowers of paper, dyed horn, or silk, and more or less beauteous, according to the skill or ingenuity of the performer. In the vacancy of the inside, from the top, hung white paper, cut in form of gloves, whereon was wrote the deceased's name, age, &c. together with long slips of various coloured paper, or ribbons. These were many times intermixed with gilded or painted empty shells of blown eggs, as farther ornaments; or, it may be, as emblems of the bubbles or bitterness of this life; whilst other garlands had only a solitary hour-glass hanging therein, as a more significant symbol of mortality.

About forty years ago, these garlands grew much out of repute, and were thought, by many, as very unbecoming decorations for so sacred a place as the church; and at the reparation, or new beautifying several churches, where I have been concerned, I was obliged, by order of the minister and church-wardens, to take the garlands down, and the inhabitants were strictly forbidden to hang up any more for the future. Yet notwithstanding, several people, unwilling to forsake their ancient and delightful custom, continued still the making of them, and they were carried at the funerals, as before, to the grave, and put therein, upon the coffin, over the face of the dead; this I have seen done in many places. Now I doubt not but such a garland, with an hour-glass, was thus placed in the grave at Clerkenwell, which, at the rotting and falling in of the lid of the coffin, must consequently be found close to the skull, as that was said to be, and the wooden frame of the glass being but of slender substance, must needs have long since decayed, had it not been in great measure secured from moisture within the hollow part of the garland, though the thread that held it might in a short time let it slip down to the coffin's lid.

Thus, sir, I have given you my thoughts of your Clerkenwell hour-glass, although there may be several things found in graves not so easily accounted for: as in digging a grave, anno 1720, for one Mr. William Clements, in Nockholt church-yard, in this county, were found deep in the earth several rolls of brimstone; and last year was dug out of a grave at Wilmington near Dartford, a quantity of Henry

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the IIId's coins, the particular account of which, I intend shall be the subject of another letter if it will be any ways entertaining or acceptable to your readers, the which will be a great pleasure to,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Bromley in Kent. S. E.

1747, *June.*

XXIV. Saxon Idols worshipped in England, whence the names of our days are derived.

THE Idol of the Sun, from which Sunday is derived, among the Latins *dies Solis*, was placed in a temple and adored and sacrificed to; for they believed that the sun did co-operate with this idol. He was represented like a man half naked, with his face like the sun, holding a burning wheel with both hands on his breast, signifying his course round the world; and by its fiery gleams, the light and heat wherewith he warms and nourisheth all things.

2. The Idol of the Moon, from which cometh our Monday, *dies Lunæ*, anciently Moonday: this idol appears strangely singular, being habited in a short coat like a man: her holding a moon, expresses what she is, but the reason of her short coat and long-eared cap is lost in oblivion.

3. *Tuisco*, the most ancient and peculiar god of the Germans, represented in his garment of a skin, according to their ancient manner of cloathing; next to the sun and moon, they paid their adoration to this idol, and dedicated the next day to him; from which our Tuesday is derived, anciently Tuisday, called in Latin *dies Martis*. But this idol is very unlike Mars, whom Woden much nearer resembles than he does Mercury.

4. *Woden* was a valiant prince among the Saxons; his image was prayed to for victory over their enemies, which if they obtained, they usually sacrificed the prisoners taken in battle to him. Our Wednesday is derived from him, anciently Wodnesday. The northern histories make him the father of Thor, and Friga to be his wife.

5. *Thor* was placed in a large hall, sitting on a bed, canopyed over, with a crown of gold on his head, and twelve stars over it, holding a sceptre in the right hand; to him was attributed the power over both heaven and earth, and

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that as he was pleased or displeased he could send thunder, tempests, plagues, &c. or fair seasonable weather, and cause fertility. From him our Thursday derives its name, anciently Thorsday; among the Romans, *dies Jovis*, as this idol may be substituted for Jupiter.

6. *Friga;* this idol represented both sexes, holding a drawn sword in the right hand, and a bow in the left, denoting that women as well as men should fight in time of need: she was generally taken for a goddess, and was reputed the giver of peace and plenty, and causer of love and amity. Her day of worship was called by the Saxons, Frigedaeg, now Friday, *dies Veneris;* but the habit and weapons of this figure have a resemblance of Diana rather than Venus.

7. *Seater* or *Crodo*, stood on the prickly back of a perch: he was thin-visaged, and long-haired, with a long beard, bare-headed, and bare-footed, carrying a pail of water in his right hand, wherein are fruit and flowers; and holding up a wheel in his left; and his coat tied with a long girdle: his standing on the sharp fins of this fish, signified to the Saxons, that by worshipping him they should pass through all dangers unhurt; by his girdle flying both ways was shewn the Saxons freedom, and by the pail with fruit and flowers, was denoted that he would nourish the earth. From him, or from the Roman deity Saturn, comes Saturday.

1748, *Nov.*

XXV. Human Bones found filled with Lead.

Mr. URBAN,

IN digging a vault, very lately, in the parish church of Axminster in the county of Devon, were found several bones of a human body, very ponderous, which, when opened, appeared to be full of lead, particularly the thigh bone. This, so surprising a thing, has puzzled the most curious in those parts. You are, therefore, desired to give this a place in your next magazine, in order to have the sentiments of your learned readers hereon.

Yours, &c.

1748, *May.* J. J.

Oxon, Oct. 11.

In your magazine for May, p. 214, is an account of some

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human bones lately found at Axminster in the county of Devon, filled with lead. An affair of this nature is mentioned by Weever in his *Funerall Monuments*, p. 30. I shall here transcribe Mr. Weever's own words.

'In the north isle of the parish church of Newport Painell, in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1619, was found the body of a man whole and perfect; laid downe, or rather leaning downe, north, and south: all the concauous parts of his body, and the hollownesse of euery bone, as well ribs as other, were filled up with sollid lead. The skull with the lead in it doth weigh thirty pounds and sixe ounces, which with the neck-bone, and some other bones (in like manner full of lead) are reserued, and kept in a little chest in the said church, neare to the place where the corps were found: there to bee showne to strangers as reliques of admiration. The rest of all the parts of his body are taken away by gentlemen neare dwellers, or such as take delight in rare antiquities. This I saw.'

By the position of this body mentioned by Mr. Weever, I should judge it to have been buried before, or, at least, very soon after Christianity was received in the island.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

1784, *Nov.* R. M.

Mr. URBAN. *Gravesend Dec.* 15, 1748.

Waving all encomiums on the usefulness of your canal to the learned, as well as to the curious and inquisitive, I observe, in your magazine for May last, a letter from Axminster, the writer of which is in great surprize on finding, in digging a grave in that parish church, several human bones filled with lead, particularly a thigh-bone, which, he says (justly, no doubt) was very ponderous; and desires, by your means, to have the sentiments of the learned upon it. Though I have no pretensions to be ranked in that class, yet, observing in your magazine of November last, p. 506, another letter on the same subject from Oxon, of a human skull, &c. mentioned by Weever, dug out of a grave in the church of Newport Pagnel, filled with the same metal, as if it had been an ancient embalming, never till now heard of or discovered; I beg room for a few lines, to give you my thoughts upon it.

In the year 1727, the greatest part of this town, together with the parish church, were consumed by fire. The roof

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of the church was covered with lead, which, being melted, ran in all parts among the ruins; and being afterwards digged for among the rubbish in order to be new-cast, was tracked into several graves, in the body of the church; out of which were taken many human bones filled with it, and particularly a thigh-bone full of that melted metal, which I both saw and handled. A great many more, perhaps, would have been found, if more minutely traced. Whether this is a satisfactory solution to your enquirer, is humbly submitted by

Yours sincerely,

A. I.

1748, *Supp.*

XXVI. The ancient custom of Dunmow.

Mr. URBAN,

I HAVE here sent you a copy of the register of the form and ceremony observed at Dunmow in Essex, on a claim made fifty years ago, to a flitch of bacon, by William Parsley, of Much Easton, and Jane his wife, founded upon an ancient institution of lord Fitzwalter, in the reign of Henry III. who ordered, "that whatever married man did not repent of his marriage, or quarrel with his wife in a year and a day after it, should go to his priory, and demand the bacon, on his swearing to the truth kneeling on two stones in the church yard." This custom is still kept up, and by inserting the manner of it in your magazine, you will perhaps excite fresh claimants, as many of your young married readers, as well as the ancient wool-comber of Weathersfield,* may be as justly entitled to it.

Yours, &c.

F. D.

Dunmow, Nuper Priorat' At a court baron of the right worshipful sir Thomas May, knt. there holden upon Friday the 7th day of June, in the 13th year of the reign of our

* "Thursday, June 20, 1751. John Shakeshanks, woolcomber, and Anne, his wife, of the parish of Weathersfield in Essex, appeared at the customary court at Dunmow-parva, and claimed the bacon according to the custom of that manor."

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sovereign lord William III. by the grace of God, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1701, before Thomas Wheeler, gent. steward of the said manor. It is thus enrolled:

Homage. { Elizabeth Beaumont, Spinster
Henrietta Beaumont, Spinster
Annabella Beaumont, Spinster
Jane Beaumont, Spinster
Mary Wheeler, Spinster } Jurat.

Be it remembered, that at this court, in full and open court, it is found, and presented by the homage aforesaid, that William Parsley, of Much Easton in the county of Essex, butcher, and Jane his wife, have been married for the space of three years last past, and upward; and it is likewise found, presented, and adjudged, by the homage aforesaid, that the said William Parsley, and Jane his wife, by means of their quiet, peaceable, tender, and loving cohabitation, for the space of time aforesaid, (as appears by the said homage) are fit and qualified persons to be admitted by the court to receive the ancient and accustomed oath, whereby to entitle themselves to have the bacon of Dunmow delivered unto them, according to the custom of the manor.

Whereupon, at this court, in full and open court, came the said William Parsley, and Jane his wife, in their proper persons, and humbly prayed, they might be admitted to take the oath aforesaid; whereupon the said steward, with the jury, suitors, and other officers of the court, proceeded, with the usual solemnity, to the ancient and accustomed place for the administration of the oath, and receiving the gammon aforesaid, (that is to say) the two great stones lying near the church door, within the said manor, where the said William Parsley, and Jane his wife, kneeling down on the said two stones, and the said steward did administer unto them the above-mentioned oath in these words, or to this effect following, viz.

You do swear by custom of confession,
That you ne'er made nuptial transgression;
Nor since you were married man and wife,
By houshold brawls, or contentious strife.
Or otherwise, in bed or at board,
Offended each other in deed or in word;
Or in a twelvemonth's time and a day,
Repented not in thought any way;

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Or since the church clerk said *Amen*,
Wished yourselves unmarried again,
But continue true, and in desire
As when you joined hands in holy quire.

And immediately thereupon, the said William Parsley, and Jane his wife, claiming the said gammon of bacon, the court pronounced the sentence for the same, in these words, or to the effect following.

Since to these conditions, without any fear,
Of your own accord you do freely swear,
A whole gammon of bacon you do receive,
And bear it away with love and good leave,
For this is the custom of Dunmow well known;
Though the pleasure be ours, the bacon's your own.

And accordingly a gammon of bacon was delivered unto the said William Parsley, and Jane his wife, with the usual solemnity.

Examined per Thomas Wheeler, steward.

The same day a gammon was delivered to Mr. Reynolds, steward to sir Charles Barrington, of Hatfield Broad Oak.

1751, *June.*

XXVII. Methods of Embalming.

THE ancient Egyptians had three ways of embalming their dead, and artists were particularly trained up for that purpose: the most costly method was practised only upon persons of high rank; of which sort are all the mummies that have remained entire to the present times: it was done by extracting the brains through the nostrils, and injecting a rich balm in their stead; then opening the belly and taking out the intestines, the cavity was washed with palm wine impregnated with spices, and filled with myrrh and other aromatics; this done, the body was laid in nitre seventy days, at the end of which it was taken out, cleansed, and swathed with fine linen, gummed and ornamented with various hieroglyphics, expressive of the deceased's birth, character, and rank. This process compleated, the embalmer carried home the body, where it was placed in a coffin, cut in human shape, and then enclosed in an outer case, and

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placed upright against the wall of the burying place belonging to the family.——Another less expensive method of embalming was, by injecting into all the cavities of the body a certain dissolvent; which, being suffered to run off after a proper time, carried with it whatever was contained therein liquified; and then the body, thus purged, being dried by the nitrous process as before, the operation was closed by swathing, &c. By the third and lowest method of embalming, which was only in use among the poor, they drenched the body with injections, and then dried it with nitre.—The Egyptians had a custom among them of pledging the dead bodies of their parents and kindred, as a security for the payment of their debts, and whoever neglected to redeem them was held in the utmost abhorrence, and denied the rites of burial themselves.—They paid extravagant honours to their deceased ancestors; and there are at this day to be seen in Egypt pompous subterranean edifices, called by the Greeks Hypogees, representing towns or habitations under ground, in which there are streets or passages of communication from one to another, that the dead might have as free intercourse as when alive.

1751, *Aug.*

XXVIII. Long Meg and her Daughters.

Sir, *Wigton, July* 12.

I WENT some days ago to examine that curious remain of British antiquity called Long Meg and her Daughters, about which it must be acknowledged all conjectures are extremely uncertain.

They are situated upon an eminence on the east side of the river Eden, near a mile from it, above a village called Little Salkeld; this eminence appears to have been all moor formerly, but now about half the stones are within inclosures, placed in an orbicular form, in some places double. I make seventy principal ones, but there are one or two more disputable; several lie flat on the surface, their greatest eminence not exceeding a foot, others yet less, and others perpendicular to the horizon; the highest of those in the circular range does not much exceed three yards, nor is it more than four wide, and two deep; but none of them have a regularity of shape, though the constructors seem to have aimed at a parallelopipedon. Long

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Meg herself is near four yards high, and about 40 yards from the ring, towards the southwest, but leans much; it being of what they call the free-stone kind, is more regular than those in the circle, and is formed like a pyramid on a rhomboidal base, each side being near two yards at the bottom, but a good deal narrower at top. (What I mean by the base is only the ground plan of the stone itself, for as to what is in architecture called base, it has none but the earth). The others in the orbicular range are of no kind of stone to be found in that neighbourhood, and the four facing the cardinal points are by far the largest and most bulky of the whole ring; they contain at least 648 solid feet, or about thirteen London cartloads, and unless they are a composition, (which I am much induced to believe) no account can be given what carriages could have brought them there, nor by what means they could be placed erect when they came. It is to be noted that these measures are only what appeared above ground; we have reason to suspect that at least a yard is lost in the earth, which will make the whole amount to a prodigious weight more. Others are erect, but not of such enormous size, and others, as I said before, lie flat along, not thrown down, as I think, but so placed either by choice or design, and some of these are also very large. In diameter the ring may be eighty yards or more, and the circle is pretty regular, but how they came there and their destination is the important question.

I am,

Yours, &c.

G. S.

1732, *July.*

XXIX. Ancient Inscriptions.

Mr. Urban,

I HOPE the gentlemen addressed will pay a proper regard to the proposal of the right reverend the bishop of Clogher, mentioned in your register of books for April last,* and will

* A journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again; translated from a MS. written by the Prefetto of Egypt; with remarks on the origin of hieroglyphics. By the bishop of Clogher. 5s. Cooper.——This book is dedicated to the Antiquarian Society, and his lordship observes to them, that as the journal particularly describes many places in the wilderness, where great

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send some qualified person to take an exact copy of that very antique inscription on the rock at mount Sinai. It may seem very daring in any one, whilst we have so few data, and while little more is known relating to this inscription, but that it exists, to adventure any conjecture concerning it, and yet I think one may guess something, from analogy about the subject matter of it. I believe it will prove to be historical, since I have observed that such ancient memorials have been preserved in that manner. "That the most ancient people," says Mr. Wise, "before the invention of books, and before the use of sculpture upon stones, and other smaller fragments, were wont to represent things great and noble, upon entire rocks and mountains, seems so natural, that it is easily imagined, and assented to by all. And that the custom was not laid aside for many ages after, is plain from history. Semiramis, to perpetuate her memory, is reported to have cut a whole rock into the form of herself. Hannibal, long after the invention of books, engraved characters upon the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them; which characters were remaining about two centuries ago, if we may believe Paulus Jovius. But, what is most to our purpose, it appears to have been particularly the custom of the northern nations, from that remarkable inscription, mentioned by Saxo, and several ages after him delineated, and published by Olaus Wormius. This was inscribed by Harold Hyldeland, to the memory of his father; it was cut on the side of a rock in Runic characters, each letter of the inscription being a quarter of an ell long, and the length of the whole thirty-four ells."* These northern examples are indeed the most for this learned author's purpose, who contends that the white horse, in the vale of that name in Berkshire, is a monument of this sort, and was intended to perpetuate the re-

numbers of ancient characters are hewn in the rocks; if a person was sent to live some time among the Arabs, he might get copies of the characters, and some helps by which the ancient Hebrew characters now lost, may be recovered. He adds, "I do not know whom to apply to, more properly to look out for a suitable person. As to the expence, I am willing to bear any proportion you shall think proper, in order to have this design effected." The Prefetto had with him persons acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of the characters which were cut in the said rock, twelve and fourteen feet high, with great industry. The bishop declares that he does not make this proposal as a matter of curiosity, but as it may be of great service to the Christian revelation, by corroborating the history of Moses.

* Mr. Wise's letter to Dr. Mead, p. 25.

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membrance of a signal victory obtained by the Saxons at Ashdown, under the conduct of king Ælfred, over the Danes. But the custom was eastern as well as northern, as appears from that very remarkable instance which we have in captain Hamilton's Account of the East Indies. The author, after giving a short history of that successless attack, which the Dutch made upon the island of Amoy in China, A. D. 1645, adds, "This history is written in large China characters, on the face of a smooth rock that faces the entrance of the harbour, and may be fairly seen as we pass out and in to the harbour."* This is but a late date compared with the monument at mount Sinai, but as the eastern people in general are extremely tenacious of their ancient customs, as appears from the travels both of Dr. Pocock and Dr. Shaw, the conjecture is not the less probable, that this Arabian inscription will be found to afford us some historical fact.

I am,
Yours, &c.

June 27, 1753. PAUL GEMSEGE.

1753, *July*.

XXX. The Picts Wall described.

MR. Warburton, in the year 1715, caused a survey and plan to be made of the ancient Roman wall and military way, to shew the necessity of rendering it passable for troops and artillery, from the eastern to the western sea, but the rebellion, which had drawn his attention to this subject, being soon after suppressed, the reparation of the way was neglected till it was again wanted in 1745. Upon the suppression of the rebellion which then happened, the work was undertaken, an act of parliament having been passed for that purpose, and Mr. Warburton was among others, appointed to superintend the execution.

But he did not desist from his inquiries, when the principal view with which they were begun was disappointed; he extended his survey through the whole county of Northumberland, and discovered almost every day some remains

* Hamilton's Voyages, vol. II. p. 241.

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of cities, castles, camps, or other military antiquities that had been hitherto totally unknown among us; the parts called the wastes appeared never to have been trodden by any human foot since the ruin of the buildings and streets, which he could easily trace by the foundations, though they were covered with grass.

An account of these discoveries he has now published, with representations of the Roman inscriptions and sculptures.

There are two walls which cross the north of England, beginning about three miles more eastward than Newcastle, and extending ten miles farther west than Carlisle, at the distance of near seventy miles. One of these walls is of turf, called Hadrian's vallum; the other of stone, called the wall of Severus, and were both intended to keep out the Picts or Scots, for which purpose Julius Agricola had before carried a series of forts or stations across the country in the same direction, and of equal extent.

Hadrian's fence consists of a bank or wall on the brink of a ditch, another bank at the distance of about five paces within it, called the south bank, and a third nearly the same distance beyond the ditch to the north. These four works are every where parallel to each other, and probably formed a military way from one part of the old stationary fence to another.

To Severus's wall, which is of stone, belongs the paved military way, which is now repairing; it is on the south side of the wall, but not in all parts parallel to it. On the north of this wall there is a large ditch, but no appearance of a bank, though the ground is in some places raised by the earth thrown out of it, and a little resembles a glacis.

Castles were placed upon this wall at unequal distances, which, however, except two or three at the east end, are all less than a mile; the buildings appear to have been squares of sixty-six feet, of which the wall itself forms the north side. The space between these castles was equally divided by four watch towers, each of which appears to have been about four yards square at the bottom; and as the centinels in these towers were within call of each other, a communication might easily be continued along the whole line, without the help of speaking trumpets, or subterraneous pipes, contrivances which have been feigned in times of gross ignorance; and as men are generally credulous of wonders in proportion as the time when they are said to have happened is remote, this method of communication appears to have

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been believed by almost every writer on the subject, and particularly by Echard.

There were also upon this wall eighteen larger forts, or stations; the mean distance between these would be about four miles, but they are placed much nearer to each other in the middle, and towards the extremities of the wall, than on the other parts.

The wall generally runs along the ridge of the higher ground, the descent being to the enemy on the north; and to preserve this advantage it is frequently carried out, and brought back in an angle. Hadrian's vallum, on the contrary, is continued nearly in a strait line, from station to station; and the paved military way, where the wall passes along the brink of a precipice, or runs into angles, is carried so as to keep the level, and as much as possible the line.

It does not appear that there were any gates in this wall, or passes through it, except just in the stations, and where it is crossed by the great military ways from south to north.

The original dimensions of the walls, ditches, banks, and military ways, cannot now be certainly known, but Hadrian's wall is thought to have been about eight feet broad, and twelve high, and that of Severus, in thickness measures seven feet, being nearly equal in all parts that remain entire, except at Kirkland's on the Solway Frith, where it is increased to nine feet, for a manifest reason, because at full sea the water has certainly flowed up to it. The breadth of the military way must have been about three Roman paces and a half, as it now measures near seventeen feet.

Hadrian's ditch measures nine feet deep, and eleven feet over, which appears to have been its original dimensions, and Severus's ditch is every where wider and deeper. The distance between the two walls is sometimes scarcely a chain, and sometimes more than fifty, and the distance between Severus's wall and the military way is generally between two and three chains, sometimes six, and between the two forts west of Shewen Sheels it is fifteen.

The materials of which these walls are constructed may be certainly known by their remains. Hadrian's is of earth, which in some places is mixed with stone, but is no where strengthened by timber. Severus's is of free-stone, and where the foundation was not good, it is built on piles of oak; the interstices between the two faces of this wall are filled with broad thin stones, placed not perpendicularly,

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but obliquely on their edges; the running mortar or cement was then poured upon them, which, by its great strength and tenacity, bound the whole together, and made it firm as a rock. But though these materials are sufficiently known, it is not easy to guess where they were procured, for many parts of the wall are at a great distance from any quarry of free-stone; and though stone of another kind was within reach, yet it does not appear to have been any where used. It will also be difficult to conceive how the Romans could carry on such a work in the face of an enemy, except it be supposed that it was not then the bounds of their conquest, but that they possessed great part of the country farther north.

Of the present state of these walls it will be sufficient to say, that in some places that of Hadrian cannot be traced without difficulty, though in others it continues firm, and its height and breadth are considerable. In some parts of the wall of Severus, the original regular courses are remaining; in some the stones remain upon the spot, though not in a regular disposition; in others, the rubbish is high and distinct, though covered with earth and grass, and frequently the vestiges are extremely faint and obscure.

1754, *April*.

XXXI. Explanation of the Word Brandons.

To Mr. Joseph Ames,

Sir,

IN the table for twenty-four years, prefixed to the "hore intemerate beate Mariæ Virginis secundum usum romanum," printed by Thielman Kerver, the first column is la date de l'année, the second les brandons, the third pasques, &c. and so afterwards to explain the table it is written, "Qui veult scavoir les brandons, pasques, &c." And it appears evidently from the table, that the brandons correspond to what we call quadragesima, or the first Sunday in Lent. But how comes the first Sunday in Lent to be called les brandons? You will find nothing in any French dictionary, not even in Cotgrave or Menagius, that will clear this; and therefore we must try further.

Now Sir Henry Spelman in his Gloss. tells us, that brandeum signifies a veil: these are the words, "Brandeum operimenti quidpiam sanctorum reliquiis impositum ne te-

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mere violentur. velum, sudarium. V. Baron. to. 1. § 12. li. 4, et v. inf. Sanctuarium.* flodoard, hist. eccl. rem. lib. 1, cap. 20. Corpus ejusdem rubeo constat brandeo involutum, et cap. 21. Sudarium—cum parte prædicti brandei scriniolo reconditum eburneo." But what has this to do with the case in hand? I answer, it was the custom at this penitential season to hang a veil before the altar, and all the ornaments of it, and to begin particularly to do it on this day, the first Sunday in Lent, from whence this first Sunday came to be called by the French *les brandons*, as much as to say, the Sunday of the veils. All this I assert upon the authority of Durantus, in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum;* from whom take the following passages: fol. CLXI. speaking of the first Sunday in Lent, he says, "Ab hac die usque ad parasceuen opperiunt cruces, et velum ante altare suspendunt, de quo in prima parte dictum est sub ti. de picturis." The purport of which is, "from this day unto Easter even, they cover the crosses, and hang a veil before the altar, of which I have already spoken in the first part of this work, where I treat of pictures and ornaments." The place here referred to is fol. IX. where we read, "Sane omnia que ad ornatum pertinent, tempore quadragesime removeri vel contegi debent. Quod fit secundum aliquos in dominica de passione, quod extunc divinitas fuit abscondita et velata in Christo. Dimisit enim se capi et flagellari ut homo, tanquam non haberet in se virtutem divinitatis. Unde in evangelio hujus diei dicitur, Jesus autem abscondit se et exivit de templo. Tunc ergo cooperiunt cruces, i. virtus sue divinitatis absconditur. Alii hoc faciunt a prima dominica quadragesime, quod extunc ecclesia incipit de ejus passione agere. Unde eo tempore crux ab ecclesia non nisi cooperta portari debet, &c." "Indeed all things which relate to ornament, in the time of Lent, ought either to be removed or covered, which by some is done on Passion Sunday, because from that time the divinity of our Lord was hidden and veiled; for he suffered himself to be taken and whipt as a man, as if he had not the divinity inherent in him. From whence, in the gospel of this day, it is said, *But Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple. Then*, therefore, they cover the crosses, that is, the power of the divinity is hidden. Others do this from the first Sunday of Lent, because from that time the church begins to treat and think of his passion, and therefore at that time

* The author though has nothing concerning it in that place.

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the cross ought not to be carried from the church uncovered." Brandon, therefore, is a veil, and les brandons in the table, may not improperly be translated Veil Sundays.

Yours, &c.

1754, *Nov.* S. P.

Mr. URBAN, *Dec.* 23, 1754.

In your magazine for last month, I observed S. P.'s explanation of the French word brandons, as it stands prefixed to Thielman Kerver's table. It appears indeed, from his quotations, to mean a veil, and that it denotes the first Sunday in Lent; but yet I believe, it is not to be applied to that ceremony, of veiling images and altars in the Roman church, which is not reckoned so material, as to need to acquaint the people with it, by inserting it in any table or calendar. The true meaning, therefore, is to be found, I presume, in that other ceremony of the same church, of veiling new married couples; which the priest performs, by spreading a veil over the parties, immediately after he has joined their hands. From the first Sunday in Advent to the Epiphany, and from Ash-Wednesday to Low-Sunday, marriages are forbid to be performed in church; but in some countries, as in Spain, where they allow of private marriages in houses, the marriage rites may be there performed, during these intervals of prohibition, all to the ceremony of veiling, which the priest defers till the parties come afterwards to church. It was necessary to acquaint the people with the times in which marriages could be solemnized, as they varied every year according to the moveable feasts; and it was customary in some places to place the notice thereof in their almanacks; and in Spain, where the marriage may be performed, but not the veiling, they at this day, mark it in their almanacks in the following manner:

Advent Sunday,	Veilings shut.
Epiphany,	Veilings open.
Ash-Wednesday,	Veilings shut.
Low Sunday,	Veilings open.

Now as these prohibitions may have varied, according to the times and countries, so, in Kerver's time, it might have been only from the first Sunday in Lent, instead of Ash-Wednesday, and his diocese may have followed the custom in Spain of putting down veiling, instead of marriage, in their almanacks, or calendar tables; as the latter could be

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performed in private, though not the former. The ceremony of veiling images does not commence at present in the church of Rome, till Passion Sunday. It is the sexton's business, and of the least consequence of any of their superfluous pageantry.

Yours, &c.

1754, *Dec.* G.

To Mr. Joseph Ames, F. R. S. and Secretary of the Society of Antiquarians.

Dear Sir,

It plainly appears from Gregory of Tours, Bede, Du Cange, and others, that Brandeum was a word made use of in the days of what is called the base Latinity, to signify not only the veils or coverings of the corpses of saints and their relicks, as your learned correspondent Mr. S. P. observes from Sir H. Spelman, but that the same name was also given to any handkerchief or napkin which had only touched such sacred remains. Till after the time of St. Gregory the Great, who was pope about the year 600, none were permitted to touch the bodies of saints; and instead of their bones, it was deemed sufficient to send a piece of cloth that had wiped them, in a box. St. Gregory expressly mentions this custom, and adds, that in the popedom of St. Leo, about the year 450, certain Greeks having doubted of the virtue of these veils, that pontiff, for their conviction, took a knife and cut a brandeum in two before their eyes; upon which blood issued in plenty, as if it had been the living body of the saint. So much for brandeum, as to which I differ not materially from your friend. But that Kerver's brandons signifies any thing like veils, as the same gentleman would have it to do, I can by no means admit. Brandon is an old French word, which signifies a wisp of straw. Thus brandons panonceaux is a law term, which means a wisp of straw fixed to the gate of a seized estate, together with the king's, or the lord of the manor's arms. Brandons also is used for wisps of straw set up in the fields at harvest time, by way of notice, that the owner reserves the leasing to himself. Brandon sometimes signifies a torch or flambeau, as brandon d'amour; but more frequently a wisp of straw on fire; and this leads to the true sense of les brandons in Thielman Kerver's little book, as will presently appear.

In Mr. Bonnet's curious and learned treatise, entitled

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Histoire de la Danse, we find that two sorts of sacred dances have been in use in the church, especially in France; the one called Baladoires, the other Brandons. The baladoires had degenerated into so monstrous a licentiousness, even in the early ages of christianity, that the very pagans were scandalized at them, the fathers of the church attempted the abolition of them with all their might, and the canons condemned them. Both men and women, like the Adamites of Amsterdam, practised them with the most lascivious gestures. New-year's-day, and the first day of May, were the times of those strange solemnities. Pope Zachary, in 744, published a decree for suppressing them, and all others that went under the title of sacred dances; and there are several ordonnances of the kings of France, which forbid them, as tending to the total corruption of manners.

The brandons were celebrated in many cities in France the first Sunday of Lent, round bonfires of straw, whence they had their name. They are now utterly abolished, with the rest, by royal authority, but were for a long time so rooted in the fancies of the people, all over the kingdom, that the bishops and magistrates strove to extirpate them in vain. At the feast of St. Martial, apostle of the Limousin, the congregation retained the custom of dancing in the choirs as lately as the middle of the last century; and instead of the doxology after every psalm, they sang out, in that country dialact "San Marceau pregrats per nous, et nous epingaren per bous." St. Martial pray for us, and we will dance for you.

Yours, &c.

1755, *April*. J. B.

Mr. URBAN,

I believe you may think it high time to close the dispute about the sense of the word brandons in Thielman Kerver's book; but, with your leave, I have a right to reply, not only by the nature of our proceedings in the courts of law, but likewise by the common rules of disputation, and therefore I shall expect to be indulged a few words. But before I enter upon this subject, I would premise, and am glad of this oportunity of doing it, that whereas I conjectured, in the magazine, Oct. 1754, that the book was printed A. D. 1497, which was inferred from the year when the table commences, it has since appeared from a more perfect copy in the hands of Mr. Ames, that it was published anno 1500; from whence I think the presumption is, that this being a

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very elaborate performance, and that it was not unusual for the printers to carry on several pieces of work at the same time, it was probably put to the press anno 1497, and finished in the year 1500, when the Colophon is dated. Indeed it is the way now of printers to set their dates as forward as they can, in order to preserve and continue the novelty of their productions; but this was not so much the practice of the more early artists.

To go now upon the word brandons; your correspondent G. after rejecting the interpretation I gave of it, thinks the true meaning is to be found in the ceremony of veiling new-married couples in the church of Rome, "which the priest performs by spreading a veil over the parties, immediately after he has joined their hands. From the first Sunday in Advent to the Epiphany, and from Ash-Wednesday to Low Sunday, marriages are forbid to be performed in the church; but in some countries, as in Spain, where they allow of private marriages in houses, the marriage rites may be there performed, during these intervals of prohibition, all to the ceremony of veiling, which the priest defers till the parties come afterwards to church." He proceeds to observe, that the moveable feasts varying every year, it was customary to place the notice thereof, at least in some places, in their almanacks; "and in Spain, where the marriage may be performed, but not the veiling, they at this day mark it in their almanacks in the following manner:

Advent Sunday,	Veilings shut.
Epiphany,	Veilings open.
Ash-Wednesday,	Veilings shut.
Low Sunday,	Veilings open.

After this he suggests, that in Kerver's time, the prohibition might have been only from the first Sunday in Lent, instead of Ash-Wednesday, "and his diocese may have followed the custom of Spain, of putting down veiling instead of marriage, in their almanacks or calendar tables."

This, Sir, is the substance of what this gentleman is pleased to offer, and I can admit his authority in regard to the practice of the church of Rome, in veiling the parties marrying, as likewise all the rest of his narrative, concerning the usages in the kingdom of Spain; but I cannot yet be persuaded that the brandons allude to any thing else but the veiling the images, altars, &c. for the following reasons:

1st. Kerver's book is *Secundum usum Romanum*, that is, it was designed for the Roman church in general, or at least, as contradistinguished to the Gallican church; for which

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reason this term in the table cannot be supposed to relate to the singular practice of any one particular church; had it been expressed *secundum usum Hispanicum*, it would have been something; but as it is, and as the practice of veiling images, &c. prevailed every where, even here in this kingdom of England, as will be shewn below, this is a very material objection to this gentleman's interpretation.

2dly. The brandons are but one season in the year, as appears from the table; but if they meant all the several times when marriages were restrained, there would have been more than one. See *Mr. Wheatley on the Common Prayer*, p. 418.

3dly, Veiling, according to this gentleman, signifies marrying, for veilings shut is as much as to say marriage restrained, and veilings open, marriage allowed. But brandons, or veilings, in our table, cannot mean marrying, but the contrary, to wit, a restraint from marrying, it being admitted by this author that marriage was prohibited from Ash-Wednesday till Low-Sunday.

4thly, There are no grounds to suppose, as this gentleman does, that the time of prohibiting marriage was different in Kerver's age from what it is now. (See *Wheatley*, p. 418.) Or that a printer exercising his trade at Paris should follow a custom peculiar to Spain, in a table printed according to the Roman use. No, you may depend upon it, Mr. Urban, that the brandons are something of universal usage in the church at that time, and that the veiling of images and altars was such, shall be shewn by and by. For,

5thly and lastly, the brandons mean the first Sunday in Lent. This is allowed; and it appears from Durantus, that the Romanists actually veiled their crosses and altars in Lent, beginning at that day. Brandeum then being the proper name of such veils, as Spelman, there also cited, clearly shews, it follows necessarily, that brandons is the same word with a French termination, and that since the first Sunday in Lent is called brandons, it was denominated from the brandea or brandons, that is, the veils on that day first applied. This seems to me to be demonstration. But this gentleman thinks this ceremony of veiling images, crosses, and altars, not material enough to find a place in a calendar. He tells us again, that it is the sexton's business, and of the least consequence of any of the Romish ceremonies. It may be the sexton's business, but the Sacristan, from whence our word sexton is corrupted, is an officer of no small consequence in the church of Rome, and this business of veiling the holy things in Lent being a general prac-

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tice in that church, this is sufficient to make it necessary to give a direction for it, especially as the time varied every year. That it was a general practice, throughout the whole extent of that communion, may appear from the testimony of Durantus, the table in this book of Kerver's, and lastly, from the custom here in England, which I shall now endeavour to establish.

After the passing of the six articles in Henry VIII.'s time, near forty years after the publication of this book of Kerver's, the popish party, as Mr. Strype tells us in his life of archbishop Cranmer, p. 74, endeavoured to introduce a book of ceremonies, with certain plausible explications. This design did not take effect; however, one of the heads was, "The covering of the cross and images in Lent." Afterwards, A. D. 1545, archbishop Cranmer intercedes with the king to have "The vigil, and ringing of bells all night long upon Allhallow-night, and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting the veil that covereth the cross on Palm Sunday, &c." all abolished, but does not prevail, insomuch that the custom continued, as it seems, to the end of this reign, but with that I believe it ended.

I have done with Mr. G. but another gentleman, finding the word brandon to signify a wisp of straw on fire, inclines to believe it to be the name of a dance, so called because it was performed round bonfires of straw. For this he cites Mons. Bonnet's *Histoire de la Danse*. I have not this book by me, and therefore cannot pretend to pass any certain judgment upon it, but so far I may go, as to remark, 1st, That this was a French custom, for it is not pretended to be of any larger extent; but Kerver's book is *secundum usum Romanum*, from whence it is obvious to infer, that a general practice of the Roman church must be implied, such as I have shewn the veiling of altars to be.

2dly, I would ask this gentleman, who I dare say has candour enough to indulge me with an answer, since I cannot consult Bonnet myself, whether this author represents these dances, called Brandons, as allowed in the church by authority so late as A. D. 1500. The gentleman's words, I think, import the contrary. But now, if these dances were only local and even disallowed customs, as they seem to be, it is strange they should find their way into such an authentic table as this of Kerver's. Veiling of altars, crosses, and images was an approved, general, and authorized custom, and such as might reasonably be expected there, but one is obliged to judge otherwise of the disorderly practices of

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the vulgar, especially when our table is calculated for a different climate, and where, as we have reason to believe, no such wild doings were ever suffered to prevail.

But to finish this affair, I have seen, by the favour of a friend, since writing the above, some extracts from the last edition of Menagius's *Origines de la Langue Françoise*, which as it had not been seen by me, so neither, as it appears, have either of these gentlemen consulted it. The first edition of the book was printed in 1650; this is that I use, and is particularly commended in the life of the author, prefixed to the Menagiana, as an impression remarkably correct. The author himself went on enlarging his work, and a new edition was printed two years after his death, viz. 1694; but since that, there is another edition of the *Dictionaire Etymologique, par M. Menage*, printed anno 1750, with copious additions, by several men of learning. The extracts from this book, which are here subjoined, so far as relate immediately to the subject, may convince these gentlemen, that neither of their interpretations are so indubitably certain as they may perhaps imagine, and that upon the whole, the best way must be, to leave at last both theirs, and mine, and these fresh ones, to the opinion and judgment of the readers.

I. Brandon, c'est un mot ancien qui signifie tison, d'ou est dit le Dimanche des brandons, Dominica in Brandonibus. C'est le premier Dimanche de Careme. De l'Allemend brand, qui signifie la meme chose. *Menage.* Here's an etymology; and we are told what brandon means; but it is not said, how it came to pass, that Le dimanche des brandons is named from it.

II. In the second extract it signifies a bonfire, but does not relate to the first Sunday in Lent, but to Midsummerday; this therefore is out of the question; but whereas there is mention made of Charles the VIIIth's dancing nine times round the bonfire, after he had kindled it, hence it seems easy to conceive, that brandons may signify a dance round a bonfire: but then this is not to the purpose.

III. Brandon, marque de Saisie, appellée autrement Panonceau de brandeum. Jean la Coste, dans sa preface, sur le titre au code de pigneratitia actione, expliquant la livre 2de. au code, du titre ut nemine liceat sine judicis auctoritate signa rebus imponere alienis; Hæc signa Franci vocant brandons, fiunt enim plerumque ex pannunculis, et inde pannonceaux. Brandeum apud D. Gregorium, Epist. 30, lib. 3. et apud Sigebertum in chronico, ubi de Lepne Magno Romano pontifice, accipi reperio pro particula veli vel palla,

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altaris D. Petri. Ab hac voce deducta sino dubio, vox Francica, quod pauci sciunt. V. H. This now is very express on my side of the question; but then on the other hand it must be confessed that the Latin form *Dominica in Brandonibus*, which we meet with in the first extract, does not so well agree with this etymology. It does not appear though what authority there is for that Latin name, nor, supposing it to be the French word brandon, from what sense of that word it takes its rise.

IV. The fourth is this; "Brandon, torche, et branche d'arbre, parceque des branches du tæda ou sapin on faisoit des torches.... On a appellée le dimanche des brandons, le premier dimanche de Careme.... Ce nom vient de ce que par un reste d'idolatrie, quelques paysans mal instruits alloient ce jour la avec de torches de paille ou de bois de sapin allumées, parcourir les arbres de leurs jardins et de leurs vergers, et les apostrophant les uns apres les autres, ils les menacoient de les coups par le pied, et de les bruler; s'ils ne portoient pas du fruit cette année la... On donne a Lyon le nom de brandons a des rameux verds que le peuple va querir tous les ans aux Fauxbourg de la Guillotiere, le premier dimanche de careme, et auxquels il attache des fruits, des gateaux, des oublies, et avec ces brandons il rentre dan la ville. Ce'st ce qui a fait donner a ce dimanche le nom de dimanche de brandons."

The occasions of the name here given, are different from any of the rest. The whole is submitted to the public by,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

1756, *Jan.*

XXXII. On the Custom of Swearing in Discourse.

Mr. URBAN,

THAT the vice of swearing in common discourse, is at this day but too frequent in this nation, will be allowed; but then, I think, it is chiefly found amongst the lower sort of people; and I remember an observation I have read somewhere "That it came in at the head, but is going out at the tail:" I hope the observation is true, and that in time this horrible custom will totally vanish, both in head and

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tail. However, this implies that at first it prevailed most amongst the nobility and gentry, and "To swear like a lord," and "To swear like an emperor," are expressions of the same denotement, and which, I dare say, have often sounded in your ears. It is astonishing with what facility our kings would formerly swear at every turn. The form used by Henry VIII. was by the mother of God, and accordingly Shakespeare, adhering to the history, introduces him saying.

"——Now, by my holy dame."
And again,
"By God's blest mother."
And afterwards,
"By holy Mary."

Shak. Hen. VIII. *Act.* 3. *Sc.* 4.

The oath of the Conqueror was "By the splendor of God," see *Rapin*, p. 165, 180. *in Not.* and that of Rufus, as we are told, "By St, Luke's face," for so *Rapin* I. p. 189. "Whereupon the king told the monk, swearing by St. Luke's face, his usual oath, that he best deserved the abbey, and should have it for nothing." But I think there is a great mistake in this matter; for though the Roman church pretends to have the head of St. Luke, both at Prague and at Rome. (See *Patrick's Devotions of the Romish Church*, p. 14.) yet I think Rufus did not swear by the face of St. Luke, but by the face of Christ. In the monkish historian Eadmarus, this prince swears four times; 1st. per sanctum vultum de Luca, p. 19. 2d. Per vultum dei, p. 30. 3d. Per vultum de Luca, p. 47. And lastly, per vultum dei again, p. 54. It appears to me that the king intended the same oath in all the four places, and that if he designed to swear by St. Luke's face, in those two instances where St. Luke is mentioned, he would have said per vultum Lucæ, and not per vultum de Lucâ, for per vultum de Lucâ, cannot signify St. Luke's face, that is, it is not equivalent to per vultum Lucæ, the Latin writers never using *de* by way of periphrasis for the genitive case.* And therefore I take the truth of the matter to be this, that whereas, in every case, the king

* When lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. was published, in which this oath received a different interpretation, Dr. Pegge retracted his opinion, and received a letter from his lordship, acknowledging the candour with which it was relinquished.

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intended to swear by God's face, or the face of Christ, he meant more especially to swear by some particular one painted by St. Luke, of whose works, as a painter, the ancients pretended, as I think the Romanists still do, to have many specimens. See *Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles*, p. 180. Thus the faces of Christ being various, first his real face; secondly, the veronica, or his face impressed upon the handkerchief, concerning which see *Calmet's Dict. in voc.* and thirdly, this painted by St. Luke; the king chose to swear by this last, and this last might very well be expressed by per sanctum vultum de Luca, that is, de Luca factum. The conclusion is, that the usual oath of king William Rufus, was not by St. Luke's face, but by the face of Christ, depicted by St. Luke, who is said to have been very skilful in that profession, is at this day the reputed patron of the painters, and concerning whom and his works, as an artist, much I presume may be seen in a tract of Greyer the Jesuit, (and something probably about his pourtraitures of Jesus Christ) but for my part, I have not the book by me.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

1734, *Sup.* PAUL GEMSEGE.

XXXIII. On the Origin of Tradesmen's Tokens.

Mr. URBAN,

THE best account of the money called Tradesmen's Tokens, which we have at present, I presume is to be drawn from the different pages of *Mr. Leake's Historical Account of English Money*, London, 1745, 8°. *Mr. Thoresby's Musæum*, p. 379, and *Mr. Drake's Eboracum*, in the appendix, p. cx. from whence it appears, that from and during the reign of queen Elizabeth to that of king Charles II. the tradesmen and victuallers in general, that is, all that pleased, coined small money or tokens for the benefit and convenience of trade. And for this there was in a manner a perfect necessity, since, at that time, there were but few brass halfpennies coined by authority, and no great quantity of farthings, which likewise were in bulk very small.

Now this small money, by which I mean halfpence and farthings, were coined by the incorporations of cities and boroughs, by several of the companies there, and by the tradespeople and victuallers at pleasure, both in them, and

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in country villages: it was struck for necessary change; the sorts were, as I said, halfpence and farthings; the figure was sometimes eight-square, but mostly round; the devices very various; and the materials were lead, tin, copper, or brass. Every community, tradesman, or tradeswoman, that issued this useful kind of specie, was obliged to take it again when it was brought to them, and therefore in cities and larger towns, where many sorts of them were current, a tradesman kept a sorting box, into the partitions of which, (which we may suppose were nearly as many as there were people there that coined) he put the money of the respective coiners, and at proper times, when he had a competent quantity of any one person's money, he sent it to him, and got it changed into silver. One of these sorting boxes I once saw, at the city of Rochester in Kent, with ten or a dozen partitions in it.

And in this manner they proceeded till the year 1672, when king Charles II. having struck a sufficient quantity of halfpence and farthings for the intention and exigencies of commerce, these *Nummorum Famuli* were superseded, and an end was put to these shifts and practices of the victuallers and shopkeepers, as being no longer either necessary or useful.

The inquiry then is, how this affair of coining was managed and conducted by the private tradesman? At the borough of Chesterfield in Derbyshire, Mr. Edward Wood, and afterwards his son Richard Wood, who were both of them apothecaries, coined money amongst others; and on the death of the late Mr. Edward Wood, son of the said Richard, the dies and the press were found in the house, from whence we are enabled to comprehend the whole process, which may be presumed not to have been very intricate. These Woods coined only halfpennies, and there were two sets of dies, one for the father's, and the other for the son's money, who I suppose had a set of dies made for himself on his father's decease. They were apothecaries, as was mentioned above, and the device was accordingly *Apollo Opifer.* These dies I have seen, and by the favour of the gentlemen concerned, to whom I am greatly obliged, one set has fallen into my possession. What I mean by a set is an obverse and reverse; these were cut upon two small pieces of steel, which were afterwards welded upon a larger block of iron. The press consisted of four pieces of good oak, not less than four inches thick, and very strongly dove-tailed together. In the upper cross-piece was fastened an iron box with a female screw, through

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which there passed a stout iron screw of an inch or more diameter, to the bottom of which was fixed one of the dies, whilst the other was received into a square hole made in the bottom cross-piece, where it lay very steady as in a proper bed. The screw was wrought by hand, in the manner of a capstan, by means of four handles affixed to the top of it, of about nine inches long each. And thus, after the copper was reduced to a proper thickness, shorn to a size, and commodiously rounded, many hundreds of halfpence might be coined, by two persons, in a very short time, by a man we will suppose to ply the screw, and a woman or boy to put on and take off the pieces. And yet, I assure you, sir, these Chesterfield halfpennies were extremely well struck.

Yours, &c.

1757, *Nov.* S. P.*

XXXIV. Letter from Mr. Ames, Secretary to the Society of Antiquarians in London, to Dr. Bevis; in which were inclosed some ancient dates found in the pulling down part of London Bridge in 1758.

SIR,

I HAD about two years ago, in some remarks on a date found among the rubbish in taking down the Black Swan Inn in Holbourn, given my opinion, that our numerical characters were first brought into England at the return† of Richard I. from the holy-wars, and that probably our people had learned them among the Saracens; but that it was some time after this that they were received among us, or that people were convinced of their utility.

Now having looked farther into this matter, I continue still of the same mind, and would willingly be informed from you, how early these characters were introduced into astronomical MSS. in England, as I know you must have sought after such in the libraries: for how astronomers could carry on their calculations in the Roman way of notation, I am not able to conceive.

The Arabians and Persians are said to have had these characters many ages ago; and it is certain they are to be

* Samuel Pegge. † He came back to England in 1194.

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met with in Arabic books of great antiquity; but then it is held, that they had them from the more eastern nations: perhaps some of your foreign correspondents may be able to clear up this point.

I shewed you and sir Hans Sloane a little MS. of recipes in physic, wherein there are abundance of numeral characters for expressing the subdivisions of weights, used about the time of Henry III. The marks are so odd and many, that I cannot represent them without a copper-plate, as we have no type or letter to exhibit them withal. One thing is very singular, that when their numbers went beyond ten, they were obliged to put the Roman numerals over them to shew their power or value, as

XI XIX XX C CCCC M VI.M
10.1, 10.9, 20, 100, 800, 1000, 6000, &c.

Soon after, or about this time, they changed the Arabic five, 0, to ų or ų, or drew a stroke through it thus, ⌀, or Φ. The invention of printing finally settled their form as they have remained ever since.

The earliest date in Arabic characters that I have met with here, was published in quarto, in the year 1734, by my late worthy friend Mr. David Casley among 150 specimens of various manners of writing (some few of which are still to be disposed of by his widow) is 1397,* which some read one thousand two hundred ninety seven, from the similitude of the last figure to our present 7, though I think it like enough to the first figure, to stand for one thousand two hundred ninety two,

Some will have it that the Moors brought the Arabic figures into Spain and Portugal, in the beginning of the eighth century, when they overrun those countries, from whence we learned them; this I think too far back, as we had then but litttle commerce; besides, had it been so, we should have met with them frequently in MSS. of ancienter times than we do; however, this I choose to submit to your judgment, and am,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

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* See the original in the Cottonian Library, VESPASIAN, A. II. 1. or a strict copy in plate XV. of Mr. Casley's Book.

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Dr. Bevis's Answer to the foregoing.

Dear Sir,

I AM so little versed in matters of antiquity, that I do not know to whom you could have applied less qualified to give you satisfaction than myself. All I can say is, that it seems to me probable enough that king Richard's return from the east might bring us the first notice of the Indian or Arabic numerals; I always thought the proofs Dr. Wallis alledges for their much greater antiquity among us, too precarious to be relied upon; and I find that far better judges are of the same opinion. The oldest MS. I can remember to have seen, penned in England, where these characters are used, was in the library of the late William Jones, esq. F. R. S. and, I suppose, passed after his death, with his whole most valuable collection of mathematical books, into the hands of the present right honourable the earl of Macclesfield; it is a large folio, written by Richard Wallingford, monk, and afterwards abbot of St. Alban's, finished in 1326, and entitled Albion, consisting of astronomical canons or rules, and tables; the figures of four and five being very like those you have specified in your letter.

After all, perhaps the Arabians themselves were not perfectly acquainted with the use of the characters in question, above a century or two before Richard's return; in support of which conjecture of mine, I will offer one plain fact to your consideration. We have in the Bodleian Library an Arabic MS. of *Ibn Younis*, a famous astronomer, who flourished at the latter end of the tenth century, as we know from his observations of some eclipses near Cairo, recorded in another MS. of his, brought into Europe by Golius, and deposited in the public library at Leyden. All the numerals employed in the Oxford book, as our learned friend the reverend Mr. Costard assures me, who collated it at my request, are the Arabic figures; and, what is very remarkable, wherever any number is expressed by them, it is immediately after explained in words at length; thus, if 123 is set down, one hundred twenty and three immediately follows.

I have no foreign correspondent to propose your query to, since the death of professor Schultens; I am told Dr. Sharpe of Oxford is an excellent orientalist, but I have not the honour of an acquaintance with him.

1758, *Oct.* Yours, &c.

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XXXV. On the Origin and Introduction of the Violin.

Mr. URBAN,

I Apprehend it must be a very difficult matter, to ascertain the exact time of the invention and introduction of any one particular kind of musical instrument, unless it could be assuredly known of what sort those instruments were, which were invented by Jubal, 'who was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ;' but this, I doubt, is not to be done. The original, as I take it, of the violin is involved in equal obscurity with the rest, concerning which I would put the question thus, at what time, and by whom was the violin invented? meaning by the violin every species of that genus, the *violino*, *alto viola*, *violoncello*, and *violone*, for since the transition from one to the other is so obvious, it matters not whether we speak of the *bracchia*, or the *viola di gamba*, they evidently springing from the same source.

Taking therefore the violin or fiddle in this latitude, I would define it in this manner; a stringed instrument with a neck, a belly placed under or behind the strings, and played upon with a bow. This definition sufficiently distinguishes it from the ancient lyre, or the modern harp; as likewise from the lute, the guitar, or mandola, which are touched in a different manner.

That an instrument of this kind was in use here in England, before the dissolution of monasteries, *Temp. H.* VIII. I can easily believe; for I have seen something like it, depicted in a glass window of the chancel of Dronfield church, in the county of Derby.

The rectory of Dronfield, before the reformation, was appropriated to Beauchief Abbey, in the same county, and that fine and lofty building, the chancel, which is equalled by very few in our common parochial churches, was erected by the abbot and convent of that house, long before the year 1535, when that religious foundation was dissolved; but however not till after 13 R. II. or 1390, when this rectory was first appropriated to the Abbey. I remember also to have seen an instrument of the same sort in the painted glass of a window, in the church of Staple in the county of Kent.

But to confine myself to this uncouth thing, at Dronfield, you will please to observe, that it can be called no more than the rudiment of a violin; there is no neck, but it rests partly upon the performer's breast, and partly upon his

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knee, and moreover was steadied, as I conceive, by the left hand's passing through a strap at the back of it. As there is no finger board, it consequently could not be stopped, and then as there are only four strings, it could yield only four notes, which yet I suppose were sufficient at that time of day, for expressing a chant or a psalm tune.

But the greatest difficulty is, the absence of the bridge, for it is not easy to conceive, how a performer with a bow, could do any thing without one, even though there were no more than four notes. All that can be said on this behalf, is, that perhaps the painter himself, had no just notion of a musical instrument at that time so uncommon, and that consequently we are not to examine it too strictly.

It appears to me, upon a view of the windows in this chancel, that this rude figure did not always occupy that place, in which it now stands, but has been removed thither by a glazier; nothing being more common than to transfer painted glass from one situation to another: however, I make no question, but that it always belonged to this chancel, and is of the same age with it, whatever place it formerly stood in.

But to go on; the word *viola* occurs more than once in the *Decameron of Boccace*, a work which was written A. D. 1348, so that in Italy this instrument seems to have been in vogue as early as then; and yet the name is thought to be not of Italian, but of Spanish extraction, see *Menage Origines de Lang. Franc.* from whence it may be inferred, that it must be a good deal older in Spain.

At the court of honour of Tutbury in Staffordshire, a king of the fidlers is chosen every year, in pursuance of an establishment of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, bearing date 4 R. II. or 1381, and in this charter a reference is made to the custom of more ancient times. This officer is called at this day King of the Fidlers, but this I fear will not come up to the point, since according to Dr. Plot in his Natural History of Staffordshire, from whom I take this account, he was formerly termed King of the Minstrels, *le Roy de Ministralx*, an expression of a lax signification, and which, as appears from p. 438, of Dr. Plot's book, included both wind and string music. Nothing therefore that is precise and certain concerning the use of violins, in the time of Richard II. can be concluded from hence.

The word Crowd is an ancient word for a fiddle, and Crowder is a player on that instrument, and it appears

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from Junius's Glossary in Voce, and from sir Henry Spelman v. Crotta, that it is a term of sufficient antiquity; nay it occurs even in Chaucer, who died A. D. 1402, or thereabouts, but then it may be justly doubted, whether at that time it meant exactly the same thing that is now meant by a fiddle or violin, for in the glossary to Chaucer, to crowde, is explained, 'to play on a crowde, or any musical instrument, also, to sing, or to make any melody,' which leaves the matter a great deal too much at large for us to learn any thing determinate, concerning the form and figure of the crowde at its first invention. In short, it might mean originally a musical instrument, very different from the violin, and afterwards might be appropriated to this particular one, by analogy, as often happens.

You see, Mr. Urban, that I for my part, can go but little into this subject, with any tolerable degree of certainty, no farther than the above notice, can carry me. But these leave so much room, that they by no means give satisfaction, and therefore I should be glad of further assistance from some of your learned and musical correspondents; and in the mean time,

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1757, Dec.

XXXVI. On the Country Dance.

Mr. URBAN,

TRUTH is a thing so sacred with me, and a right conception of things, so valuable in my eye, that I always think it worth while to correct a popular mistake, though it be of the most trivial kind. Now, sir, we have a species of dancing amongst us, which is commonly called country dancing, and so it is written; by which we are led to imagine, that it is a rustic way of dancing borrowed from the country people or peasants; and this I suppose is generally taken to be the meaning of it. But this, sir, is not the case, for as our dances in general come from France, so does the country dance, which is a manifest corruption of the French *con-*

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*tredanse,** where a number of persons placing themselves opposite one to another begin a figure. This now explains an expression we meet with in our old country dance books, 'long ways as many as will;' as our present English country dances are all in that manner, this direction seems to be very absurd, and superfluous; but if you have recourse to the original of these dances, and will but remember that the performers stood up opposite one to another in various figures, as the dance might require, you will instantly be sensible, that that expression has a sensible meaning in it, and is very proper and significant, as it directs a method or form different from others that might be in a square or any other figure.

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1758, *April.*

XXXVII. Ancient Custom of Shepherds.

Mr. URBAN,

AS there is something very entertaining to the mind, as well as useful, in reviewing the manners of antiquity; I should be obliged to any of your learned correspondents for the pleasure of knowing the methods, which the shepherds of Jewry, and the eastern countries, followed in the care of their flocks. In St. John x. 3, 4, we have these words; 'To him the porter openeth; and the sheep hear his voice: and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out: and when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice.' On these words, Dr. Hammond observes, 1st, 'That the shepherds of Judea knew every sheep severally.' (This, as I have been informed, by a gentleman of true value, has been attained to by a shepherd in our own country;) 2dly, 'That the shepherds of that country had a distinct name for every sheep, which each sheep knew and answered by obediential coming, or following, to that call.' This, as very unusual with us, scarcely gains credit.—And

* Marshal Bassompierre, speaking of his dancing country dances here in England in the time of king Charles I. writes it expressly contredanses; see his Memoires Tom. iii. p. 307.

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yet what is there wonderful in it?—Why might not names be given to flocks of sheep, as well as to herds of bullocks? And why may not sheep, led into their fold every night by the shepherd, and brought out every morning, (fed when young, in a great measure too by hand) be taught to follow the accustomed voice of their shepherd, and distinguish that voice too from the voice of a stranger.—That the shepherds gave them names, appears in some measure from the above-cited passage of St. John, but more fully from Theocritus, Id. v. l. 103, 104. where a shepherd calls three of his sheep by their names; and that the shepherds often went before, while the flock followed, is above asserted by St. John in express words. Hence God, who is said to go before the Israelites, in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night, is, Psalm lxxx. 1. stiled 'the shepherd of Israel that led Joseph like a flock;' hence the title of shepherd, Is. xliv. 28, is given by God to Cyrus, and by the most ancient authors to kings, who headed their armies to battle; and since David was an expert shepherd, as well as divine poet, after whose sweet strains his flock doubtless went; the fable of Orpheus may, I think, be easily deduced from thence.

But the care of these shepherds did not stop here. They seem to have trained up the ram to collect the flock, when any way scattered, and thus to draw them together in that regular order, in which sheep brought together almost naturally stand. Let it be observed, that I am not here positive, though Lucian says of Polyphemus the shepherd, ἐντειλαμενος τῳ κριῳ, ὁποσα ἐχρην πρατΐειν αὐτον ὑπερ ἐμε, 'ordering the ram what things he ought to do for me.' Homer has a comparison of the same nature; and it must be owned, that all poetical comparisons, either were known, or supposed to have a real existence in nature, and that Homer would not have compared Ulysses, drawing up his men, to a ram ordering the flock, unless some such thing had really, or supposedly, been done.—The words of Homer may as well be seen in Mr. Pope's translation as in the original.

> Then said, once more he viewed the warrior train:
> What's he, whose arms lie scattered on the plain?
> Broad is his breast, his shoulders larger spread;
> Tho' great Atrides overtops his head.
> Nor yet appear his care and conduct small;
> From rank to rank he moves and orders all:
> The stately ram thus measures o'er the ground,
> And master of the flock surveys them round.

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This use of the ram at present our sheep dogs supply; but the dogs of the shepherds at that time appear from Theocritus (see *Id.* v. l. 106. and *Id.* vi. l. 11.) to be wolf-dogs, kept to preserve the flock from wolves, and other wild beasts.

There remains yet one very curious observation, and established on the indisputable authority of Philo Judæus. That philosopher, a Jew, born and bred in Egypt, must of course be acquainted with their customs, and has these remarkable words in his first chapter concerning the creation. Κριοι βριθοβλεις βαθεσι μαλλοις ὑποτοκοι κατα την ἐαρος ὡραν ὑπο ποιμενος κελευσθεντες ἱσταῖαι μετα ἡρεμιας, και ἡσυχη καταπλινοντες ἐμπαρεχεσιν ἀποκειρεσθαι το ἐριον, ἐθιζομενοι, καθαπερ αἱ πολεις τον ἐτησιον ἀποδιδοναι δασμον τω βασιλει φυσει. 'Woolly rams laden with thick fleeces, in spring season, being ordered by their shepherd, stand without moving, and silently stooping a little, put themselves into his hand to have their wool shorn; being accustomed, as cities are, to pay their yearly tribute to man, their king by nature.' Their sheep, it is plain, stood unconstrained before the hand of the shearer.

These things may appear strange to us, who never attempted to know what the docility of a sheep is; and I shall leave it to the consideration of naturalists, whether or no the shepherds of these countries were not much assisted in this their government of their sheep, by giving them names, while in the state of lambs, and by using them to go and come daily by these names. Our Saviour's expression in St. John, of 'calling his own sheep by name and leading them out,' seems to favour this hypothesis. If this is granted, then all the other difficulties vanish; since every creature, conversant about man, is known to be teachable by names and sounds continually impressed on him, to do things almost incredible to those, who do not duly consider the docility of these creatures. I shall only add, that a sheep standing in this silent inclining posture willing to part with his fleece for the good of man, is justly made by the prophet Isaiah, chap. liii. v. 7. to image out our Saviour, 'who laid down his life of himself,' standing in the most meek, uncomplaining manner, before his judge, 'when he was afflicted and oppressed, yet he opened not his mouth, when he was brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth.'

Yours, &c,

South Moulton, Dec. 3, 1758. JOHN COLERIDGE.

1758, *Dec.*

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XXXVIII. On the Causes of Dryness in Dead Bodies.

Mr. URBAN, *Westminster, Dec.* 8.

IF the silence of the grave, can sometimes afford a theme of instruction; the following occurrence, may perhaps occasion a speculative mind to take wing, in search of new discoveries.

In digging up the earth, to lay a foundation for a vault, in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, towards the beginning of June last; the workmen broke into an old coffin, in which they found the body of a woman: which, from the condition it was then in, must have been buried many years. The skin and flesh were entirely dried up; and appeared to be of the same consistency with vellum or parchment: and in colour very much resembling the latter. The features were all perfect, except the nose, which was almost gone; and the mouth, the upper lip of which, on the right, was in some measure decayed. The nails were all perfect on the hands; and on the left foot appeared something, like the remains of a stocking; which, upon examination, was thicker than ordinary, and made of thread.

As curiosity, Mr. Urban, had drawn a great many people to the church, to view these uncorrupted remains of mortality, I went there among the rest, with a design to enter upon a cool and deliberate examination of the matter, and to discover, if possible, the cause of such a preservation. The workmen were unable to give me any satisfaction as to the exact length of time it had lain in the ground: no plate, or inscription, of any kind being found upon the spot, or thereabouts, even to warrant a conjecture. With a three foot rule I measured the figure, and found the length of it to be four feet eleven inches. From the common fate that attends objects of this nature, one would have expected, that these remains, upon being exposed to the air, would have undergone a sensible, if not a total dissolution; but, although this figure was handled and examined many days, little or no alteration ensued. There was nothing in the appearance that was ghastly or odious, like what we experience from the view of a body recently buried: but, to speak in the language of a medalist, there was a venerable ruge on the figure, that was rather inviting; for it bore a strong resemblance to an Egyptian mummy, stripped of its bandages.

The simple curiosity of an inconsiderate mind is a passion easily gratified, and to the multitude the bare sight of these

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remains is found sufficient. But a rational curiosity cannot rest here. It is this that searches, examines, traces up things to their first causes, and wades with infinite pleasure through all the narrower channels that lead to the main spring-head. The inquiry to be pursued here, is, to what cause is the preservation of this body to be ascribed?

In the decay of bodies committed to the earth, there seems to be but one operative cause: and that is, the humidity of the body. The cadaverous moisture induces putrefaction, and that, a dissolution. The intestines, from their laxity, porosity, and humidity, are the first parts that are liable to corruption: from these, the contagion spreads gradually through the whole body; and the bones are soon stripped of the flesh that covered them. It is evident this was not the case here; and how came it otherwise?

As there seems to be one cause of putrefaction, so there seem to be three causes of preservation, in the case of interred bodies,

1. Embalming.
2. Dry sand.
3. Extreme age.

As to the first, upon the most rigorous inspection that could be made; this body appeared never to have undergone this operation. No incision of any kind was visible on the stomach, or any other criterion, to favour such a surmise.

As to the second cause, it is well known, that dry sand will imbibe, by attraction, the humid effluvia of bodies: and as it partakes of an attractive, but not a repellent quality, human bodies have been found entire after a long course of time, where they have lain in such a stratum. As, on the contrary, where the soil has been naturally moist; and from that quality, repels as well as attracts, bodies are soon consumed. But upon viewing the earth, where this body lay, it appeared to be a soft loam, rather damp than otherwise: and one would have imagined at first, that as all the bodies which were hereabouts, except this, were decayed, that this lay in a stratum of earth of a different nature. But, on examination, the earth was every where the same, and no sand visible any where.

The third cause seems most likely to give some light into this matter, which is that of extreme old age. It is obvious, that in this period of life, the radical moisture begins to subside, and that dryness ensues, which is the consequence, when the pores are fewer in number, and the perspiration altogether insensible. At this juncture, there

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is a more firm adhesion of the flesh to the bones; a contact and union formed between both, that seems to admit of no separation; not unlike the case of fruit and other bodies, whose moisture has been exhaled by the sun's heat; we find their component parts more compact and united, and the disunion of them difficult. An instance of this kind, we had some years ago, in the workhouse of this parish. It was the case of Margaret Patten, who lived to the age of 113. Nature's heat and moisture had been so far exhausted in this woman, that she might be said to have lived in two different bodies: her muscles, tendons, sinews, and other ramous parts, a long time before her death, being entirely ossified. Should her remains be viewed at this time, they would probably afford an entertainment to a rational curiosity, no ways inferior to that which we have lately experienced in this church.

Among many instances, that might be produced to confirm this hypothesis; that the incorruption of dead bodies is sometimes owing to old age; I shall mention but one. It occurs in a book, entitled, *'The History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*; published by Mr. Widmore, librarian to the dean and chapter of that church. The book is only in the possession of the subscribers, and therefore I shall transcribe the passage:

'Abbot Estney, died in 1498, and was buried on the south side of St. John the Evangelist's chapel. August 17, 1706, by digging near Estney's tomb, in a large coffin, lined with lead, his corpse, cloathed in crimson silk, was found entire.'

The incorruption of Estney's body and that of this woman, were certainly owing to the same cause. The dry season of old age had entirely absorbed the radical moisture, the cohesion of all the parts became more uniform and contracted: and by these means, putrefaction was resisted. Such persons as these had possibly a vigour of constitution, equal to that of old Massinissa, introduced by Tully, in his inimitable treatise *De Senectute*. 'Arbitror te audire,' says this master of language, 'Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Massinissa quæ faciat hodie, nonaginta annos natus: nullo imbre, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit: summam in eo corporis siccitatem.

Yours, &c.

EDGAR BOCHART.

[Dugdale, in his history of St. Paul's church, remarks that among the rubbish of the old fabric, when it was pulled

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down, the body of bishop Braybroke was found in a leaden coffin; and though it had been buried more than 260 years, as by the inscription appeared, yet it was not in the least inclined to putrefaction, the flesh, sinews, and skin being so dried to the bones, that when it was set upright it stood as stiff as a board. The same author tells us of two other bodies found at the same time dried in the same manner; and mentions besides, the corpse of William Parr, marquis of Northampton, found in the choir of St. Mary's church, Warwick, in whose coffin, though interred 50 years before, the rosemary and bays were also as fresh as if they had not been laid in it ten days. This he ascribes to the heat and dryness of the dust in which the bodies lay, and not to the sanctity of the persons, as was the prevailing opinion in his time.]

1758, *Dec.*

XXXIX. On Bishop Fisher's Grave.

Mr. URBAN,

IT is surprising upon what slight grounds the Roman Catholics, so addicted to marvels, will obtrude their sham miracles upon the world. To omit many others, I will here report you one very remarkable instance. Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, it will be allowed on all sides, was a very learned pious, and good man, but his warmest advocates, the Papists, will find it difficult to persuade us that any extraordinary or miraculous appearance (for such they would suggest it to be) was seen at his grave. The account given of the matter, by one of those authors, runs thus:

'And touching the place of his burial, in [Allhallows] Barking church yard, it was well observed at that time by divers worthy persons of the nations of Italy, Spain, and France, that were then abiding in these realms, and more diligently noted and wrote the course of things, and with less fear and suspicion than any of the king's subjects might, or durst do, that for the space of seven years after his burial, there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been continually occupied and trodden.' *Baily's Life of Bishop Fisher*, London 1655, 12mo. p. 212.

This Dr. Baily, the publisher of bishop Fisher's life, was

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a plagiary, for the book was written by Dr. Richard Hall, as we are informed by *Anth. a Wood, Athen. Oxon.* I. col. 568. However the miracle, you see, is vouched by one doctor in divinity, and countenanced by another, but how groundlessly will appear from the following remarks:

First, The truth of the fact is very disputable, even upon the footing of Dr. Hall's report; for why was it not observed by the English, as well as those foreigners, Italians, Spanish, and French? Why not by the neighbours as well as by the strangers?—This nation was all Romanist at that time of day, and bishop Fisher wanted not friends and well wishers enough amongst them to observe, to speak, and write of, and even to give an air of miracle to this contingency, had there been any such, and yet nobody has ever taken notice of it till this writer, from whence I conclude there never was any such thing. But says Dr. Hall, the king's subjects were more subject to fear, and liable to suspicion, than these foreigners, and therefore durst not, or could not make the remark; a mere empty surmise; for the people, as this author will allow, talked freely enough of the king's dealings with the bishop of Rochester, who had friends sufficient, and zealous enough, had there been any thing extraordinary in the case, to have noted it, and even then to have given it this turn.

But, Secondly, Supposing the fact to be true, there was nothing miraculous in it: for it is not at all strange or supernatural that grass or weeds should not grow upon a grave in a London church yard, situate within the walls. They do not naturally grow freely in any close places in London, and if it should happen that the earth in a particular place should be cold and steril, should prove to be a clay, or composed, as often is the case, of dead rubbish, which is either unfit for vegetation or includes no seeds in it, there may be no shoot at all; at least not for more than seven years, the space of time mentioned.

Again, Thirdly, Supposing the fact to be true, how does it prove any miracle in the behalf of the good bishop? The bodies of saints are found, as these writers tell us, all fresh and fragrant, from whence one would expect, had there been a real miracle, that the grave would have been overgrown with flowers, or at least with aromatic plants. I have the life of sir Thomas Cantilupe, written by R. S. a Jesuit, and printed at Ghent, 1674, which tells us p. 202, that his body, ~~when his soul first left~~ it, emitted an heavenly fragrance that filled the whole room. So in Osborn's History of the translation of archbishop Elphege.——'Accurrunt

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itaque admiratione perterriti rex et archiepiscopus, lachrimantibus oculis introrsum aspiciunt, vident organum quondam spiritus sancti incorruptum jacere, nec quicquam putris in toto corpore læsionis inesse.' 'The king and the archbishop advance with astonishment, and looking in with weeping eyes, they behold the late temple of the holy spirit lying all incorrupt, without one mark of putrefaction in the whole body.' *Wharton's Angl. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 145. and yet this was eleven years after his death. And in the search and inspection into the grave of St. Dunstan, by archbishop Warham, printed in the same volume, p. 228. the remains of that saint are said to smell most sweetly, *quæ revera omnia odore redolebant suavissimo;* and yet this was above 500 years after his decease; from all which one would incline to believe, that a luxuriancy of grass upon his grave, would better have betokened the sanctity of bishop Fisher than a want of it.——An observation which I lay the more stress upon, on account of Hollingshed's testimony concerning the murder of Mr. Arden of Feversham. 'This one thing seemeth very strange and notable, touching Maister Arden, that in the place where he was layd, being dead, all the proportion of his body might be seen two yeares after and more, so plaine as could be; for the grasse did not growe where his body had touched, but betweene his legges, betweene his armes, and about the holowness of his necke, and round about his body, and where his legges, armes, head, or any part of his body, had touched, no grasse growed at all of all that time.' There was no sanctity in the case here, nor did any one ever pretend there was; Arden* had been basely murdered, it is true, but he was a man of a bad character in several respects, as the same historian tells us, and in particular had cruelly taken from a poor widow that very field in which his body was laid. Mr. Lewis, in a note on the story, which he has printed in the appendix to his history of Feversham, after citing the above passage of Dr. Hall's, thinks it very probable 'that the grass was kept from growing where Mr. Arden's body lay, by art; as was done at Colchester, in keeping the ground bare, where the bodies of those brave gentlemen, sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle fell, when they were shot in the Castle Green, for the sake of getting money by shewing people this lying wonder. Thus, we are

* His tragedy, printed in 1529, is acted at certain seasons by the young people of Feversham.

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told, the popish priests in king Henry VIII's time poured soap ashes on Mr. Petit's grave, in the church yard, to prove him an heretic, affirming that God would not suffer grass to grow on an heretic's grave.' *Strype's Memor.* vol. i. p. 203. The absence of grass, you observe, Mr. Urban, is esteemed a mark of roguery and villainy in Mr. Arden's, and of heresy in Mr. Petit's case, and was given out to be such, as to the latter, even by the Papists themselves; how then can it be a token of sanctity in bishop Fisher's grave? Certainly, in his case, the weeds and grass ought, by parity of reason, to be more copious than ordinary, rather than deficient.

But, Fourthly, How can this observation argue a virtue inherent in the bishop's bones, when they were removed from this church yard in a short time, into the Tower? The bishop was beheaded 22d of June, 1535. The sixth of July following, sir Thomas More suffered, soon after which, 'His body was buried in the chapel belonging to the Tower, called *S. Peter ad Vincula*, by the care of his daughter Margaret; to which place, as it is said, she afterwards removed the body of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who being beheaded for the same matter on the 22d June going before, was buried in the church yard of All-hallows Barkin.' *Wood's Athen.* vol. i. col. 39.

The removal of the prelate's body not only precludes the pretended miracle, but also will fully account for the want of grass, on his grave; for from thence, it may be inferred:

Fifthly, and lastly, that the appearance, though it were such as is represented, was no other than what may be accounted for in a natural way. This bishop's grave was made by the halberds of the guards, and consequently was but shallow. *See his Life*, p. 211. After he had lain there a short time, the earth was moved again, as Mr. Wood writes, which second removal would of course retard all vegetation, nothing in the world contributing so much, as moving of earth, to the destruction of grass and weeds. If then along with this we consider the nature of the place, and the situation of that, there might well be but little grass.

I conclude upon the whole, that there was nothing preternatural in this affair; that the fact itself is doubtful; that, admitting it to be true, the bishop's bones were no other way concerned in occasioning the want of grass, than as they caused the earth to be twice removed; and, lastly, that upon the whole matter, this is no other than one of

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those false miracles,* as was asserted above, with which the modern papists are perpetually injuring the sacredness of truth, and hurting the credit of real ones.

Yours, &c.

Nov. 14, 1752. PAUL GEMSEGE.

1752, *Dec.*

XL. On the first Introduction of Pointing.

Mr. URBAN, *Westminster, Jan.* 8.

IT is not, perhaps, an enquiry wholly useless, or unentertaining, when the usage of stops began amongst us, since upon them all propriety of reading and pronunciation so much depends.

We will first consider, when they were not, and it will appear that † Lipsius is on the side of truth, when he says, that 'all ancient records, which were within his experience, were without notes of distinction;' by which he must mean, regular, determinate, and fixed stops.‡ Putean, in his observations upon Quintilian, is of the same opinion: What within our own knowledge at this day puts this beyond dispute, is, the Alexandrian manuscript, which I have particularly consulted on this occasion. This curious monument of antiquity, is at present in the king's library at the British Museum. Whoever examines this, will find, that the whole is written, *continuo ductu*, without distinction of words, or sentences. How the ancients read their works, written in this manner, is not easy to conceive. Their manner of reading was, very possibly, the same with that used in our courts of judicature; and what seems to favour this surmise, is, the ancient custom continued, in these tribunals, of writing without stops.

It has been imagined by some, that this invention of pointing, sprung up in the time of Adrian, but this is a mistake, and arose from the misinterpretation of a passage in Suidas. Suidas, speaking of Nicanor§ the grammarian, says, that he composed a little treatise, περὶ στίγμης τῆς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, καὶ τῆς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ. But whoever will take the pains to examine Suidas's meaning here, will clearly see, that he

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* See Hall again, p. 3 and 211.

‡ *De Distinct. lib.* iv.

† In his letter *De Distinct.*

§ See *Suidas in hac voce.*

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is not talking of stops and pointing, but of emphasis, accent, and pronunciation. Lipsius* indeed supposes, that these words intimate a proposal to introduce pointing, and that the proposal was rejected. His error lies, in not having given due attention to their import.

Isidore,† indeed, seems to have made a new discovery, when he tells us, that, in his time, they made use of three points, or distinctions. According to him, they were called, comma, colon, and period. The form of all three was the same, but their position different; the first being placed at the bottom, the second at the middle, and the third at the top of the letter. 'Positura,' says he, 'est figura ad distinguendos sensus per cola, commata, et periodos. Quæ dum ordine suo apponitur, sensum nobis lectionis ostendit. Ubi enim in initio pronunciationis, respirare oportet, fit comma, et ad unam literam ponitur. Ubi autem sententiæ sensum præstat, fit colon, mediamque literam puncto notamus. Ubi vero plenam sententiæ clausulam facimus, fit periodus, punctumque ad caput literæ ponimus.' It must be observed here, that Isidore wrote about the time, when the old practice of joining words together ceased, and writings began to be more legible, by separating and distinguishing words from each other. About this time we find, from monumental inscriptions, that they made use of certain marks, placed at the end of every word; not to distinguish sentences, but words.‡ And, though we call some of our stops, at this day, by the same name, it does not follow that we use them for the same purpose. From Isidore's words, here cited, one would at first imagine, that the points were only in those places he specifies; but it must be understood, that agreeable to the practice of that age, those notes of distinction were placed after every word, though perhaps not in the same manner.

In all the editions of the *Fasti Capitolini*, these points occur. The same are to be seen on the *Columna Rostrata*.§ For want of these, we find such confusion in the *Chronicon Marmoreum*, and the covenant between the Smyrnæans and Magnesians, which are both now at Oxford. In Salmasius's edition of *Dedicatio Statuæ Regillæ Herodis*, the like confusion occurs, where we find ΔΕΥΡΙΤΕ for Δεῦρο ἴτε.

An instance to prove, that marks of distinction were

* In his letter about pointing, printed with *Putean's Dissert. de Distinct.*
† *De Orig.* lib. i. c. 19.
‡ See Cellarius's Orthography, p. 70.
§ Vide *Livii Hist.* edit. Oxon. 6. B. 207.

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placed at the end of each word, by the ancients, will appear from the Walcote inscription found near Bath. It presents itself to the eye in the following manner;

IVLIUSv VITALISv FABRI
CESISv LEGv XXv. Vv. V
STIPENDIORUMv &c.

After every word here, except at the end of a line, we see this mark v. There is an inscription in Montfaucon, which has a capital letter laid in an horizontal position, by way of interstitial mark, which makes one apt to think that this way of pointing was sometimes according to the fancy of the graver.

P. FERRARIVS HERMES
CAECINIAE ⊣ DIGNAE
CONIVGI ⊣ KARRISSIMAE
NVMERIAE ⊣ &c.

Here we observe after the words a T laid horizontally, but not after each word, which proves this to be of a much later age than the former.

Having now considered, that the present usage of stops was unknown to the ancients, I proceed to assign the time in which this commendable improvement of language began.

As it appears not to have taken place, while manuscripts and monumental inscriptions were the only known methods to convey knowledge, we must conclude, that it was introduced with the art of printing. The fifteenth century, to which we are indebted for this mystery, did not however, bestow those appendages, we call stops; whoever will be at the pains to examine the first printed books, will discover no stops of any kind; but arbitrary marks here and there, according to the humour of the printer. In the sixteenth century, we observe their first appearance. We find, from the books of this age, they were not all produced at the same time: those we meet with there in use, being only the comma, the parenthesis, the interrogation, and full point. To prove this, we need but look into *Bale's Acts of English Votaries*, black letter, printed 1550: a book not commonly to be had, but which I have in my collection. Indeed, in the dedication of this book, which is to Edward VI. we discover a colon: but, as this is the only one of the kind throughout the work, it is plain this stop was not established

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at this time, and so warily put in by the printer; or if it was, that it was not in common use. Thirty years after this time, in that sensible and judicious performance of sir Thomas Elyot, entitled, *The Governour*, imprinted 1580; we see the colon as frequently introduced, as any other stop; but the semicolon and the admiration, were still wanting, neither of these being visible in this book. In *Hackluyt's Voyages*, printed 1599, we see the first instance of a semicolon: and, as if the editors did not fully apprehend the propriety of its general admission, it is but sparingly introduced. The admiration was the last stop that was invented, and seems to have been added to the rest, in a period not far distant from our own times.

Thus we see, that these notes of distinction came into use, as learning was gradually advanced, and improved: one invention indeed, but enlarged by several additions. Nothing is more probable, as we can trace them no higher than the fifteenth century, than that the thought was monastic. The Monks, however ridiculous in some things, have obliged posterity with others, truly valuable. Learning, such as it was, did not want advocates in this age. If Walsingham, a benedictine monk of St. Alban's in this century, wrote the *Historia Brevis*, a work much esteemed at that time, and was distinguished for his literary accomplishments; it is something more than conjecture to attribute this invention to him.

Yours, &c.

EDGAR BOCHART.

1759, *January*

Mr. URBAN, *Wateringbury.*

Mr. Edgar Bochart, in his essay on the introduction of pointing, says, 'In Hackluyt's Voyages, printed 1599, we see the first instance of a semicolon: and, as if the editors did not fully apprehend the propriety of its general admission, it is but sparingly introduced. The admiration was the last stop that was invented, and seems to have been added to the rest, in a period not far distant from our own times.'

That your correspondent is mistaken, in supposing the semicolon to have been prior to the admiration, is evident from the catechism set forth by king Edward the sixth, and printed by John Day, in the year 1553. In a question in this catechism, p. 19, there is a note of admiration, as fol-

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lows; 'Master, oh the unthankfulnesse of men! but what hope had our first parents, and from thencefourth the rest, whereby they wear relieved.'

There is no other stop of the like kind, in so much of the book as I have by me (which is imperfect) and not one semicolon.

Yours, &c.

E. GREENSTEAD.

1759, *April.*

XLI. On the ancient Custom of Burning the Dead.

Mr. URBAN,

SIR Thomas Brown, in his spirited treatise, entitled *Hydriotaphia*, incidently introduces the ancient usage of burning the dead. It were to be wished, that he, and all those, who preceded him in the disquisition of so abstruse a theme, had considered the subject, with a little more attention. One general error seems to have been adopted; that by such a precipitate dissolution, the ethereal flame, or soul of man, was purified by its disunion from the gross and servile bandages of matter. Heraclitus, it seems, was the first expositor of this doctrine; by whose means the practice became general in every region of Greece. According to him, fire was the predominant principle in the human fabric; and that therefore by the reduction of the body to its first principles, the purity and incorruptibility of its magisterial parts were, by such means, better preserved. To this purpose is Euripides, in speaking of Clytemnestra,

——πυρὶ καθήγνισαι δέμας,

There was indeed another opinion, which had its foundation in policy: which was, that by burning the body, all rage and malice, the general issues of hatred and enmity, which often survived their object, were checked and prevented. But as this reason grew out of the custom, established a long time before; so the custom, in its original, grew out of reasons previous to those beforementioned. It is matter of surprize, that so ingenious a writer as sir Thomas Brown should have imbibed the general opinion; and not rather have corrected it, by expatiating a little farther into that

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fruitful soil, where he would soon have discovered a clearer prospect.

Two considerations then will arise here. The first relates to the antiquity, and the second to the intention of this custom. Its antiquity rises as high as the Theban war; where we are told of the great solemnity that accompanied this ceremony at the pyre of Meneceus and Archemorus, who were cotemporary with Jair, the eighth judge of Israel. Homer abounds with funeral obsequies of this nature. Penthesilea,* queen of the Amazons, we find, underwent this fiery dissolution. In the inward regions of Asia, the practice was of very ancient date, and the continuance long: for we are told, that in the reign of Julian, the king of Chionia† burnt his son's body, and reposited the ashes in a silver urn. Coeval almost with the first instances of this kind in the east, was the practice in the western parts of the world.‡ The Herculians, the Getes, and Thracians, had all along observed it; and its antiquity was as great, with the Celtæ, Sarmatians, and other neighbouring nations.

Under the second consideration then, cannot we turn up, and examine the earth a little about the roots of this custom, and see if they do not spread farther than general observation has hitherto gone? Can we not deduce this pyral construction, the *supremos honores* of this kind from our own feelings? Yes—the custom has its foundation laid deep in nature. An anxious fondness to preserve the memory of the great and good, the dear friend, and the near relation, was the sole motive that prevailed, in the institution of this solemnity. Wherefore Heraclitus, when he spoke of fire, as the master principle in all things (the custom of burning bodies existing long before his time) could not be supposed to lay down this doctrine, as a reason for the custom, but as a persuasion to ease the minds of those, who thought there was too much barbarity and inhumanity in the practice of it. Let us see, if the ancients do not furnish us with symptoms of this tenderness. In Homer we see this confirmed.

——καὶ πανυχ῾ ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς
Χρυσείῃ ἐν κρητῆρ῾ ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀφυσσάμενος χαμαδὶς χέε, δῖε δὲ γαῖαν,
Ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆ῾ ἀμύμονος.

Iliad Ψ.

* 2. *Calabar.* lib. i. † *Ammianus Marcellinus.*
‡ *Arnoldus Montanus L. L. Gyraldus.*

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At Hector's funeral, the preservation of the ashes was the principal concern of the friends and relations that attended.

Πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνῳ
Πᾶσαν, ὅσσον ἔπεσχε πυρὸς μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὀστέα λευκὰ λέγοντο κασίγνητοι ἑταροίτε,

Iliad Ω. 791.

The ashes, when collected and reposited in an urn, were preserved, as a memorial of the goodness or greatness of the party deceased, as an example to excite the same ardour in the minds of those who survived. These were kept in some convenient place, in the house of the next relation or friend. Achilles, we find, had the remains of his dear Patroclus in his tent.

Ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἐϋπλῷ λιτὶ κάλυψαν,

Iliad Ω. *fine.*

Tibullus introduces the same custom, where he speaks of the mother's absence, whose duty it had been to have preserved her son's remains.

——*Non hic mihi Mater,*
Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.

Thus it appears, that the reduction of the body to ashes, the urnal inclosure of those ashes, the frequent contemplation of them in the urn, were thought good expedients to keep alive the memory of those, who were in their lives most conspicuous in the walk of fame. These were the springs, from whence this custom issued. In the celebrated instance of Artemisia, the fondness extended almost to a deification. A case this, not unlike what we experience in our own times: when a lock of hair, a ring, a seal, which was the property of a deceased friend, and which we have in our possession, is looked upon with reverence, and a peculiar pleasure in the contemplation.

Yours, &c.

E. Bochart.

P. S. In your last magazine, Mr. Greenstead says, he finds the admiration stop in king Edward's Catechism. I have borrowed the book, and can see no such stop in the

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place he mentions. I would advise him to look again, and see whether it is not rather the artifice of the pen, than the product of the press.

1759, *May.*

XLII. Of Honour due to the Wives of Prelates.

Honour to whom Honour.

Rom. xiii. 7.

Mr. URBAN,

IT is matter of wonder with many, that the wives of our prelates are not dignified with the titles of ladies, as the consorts of the lay lords are; and indeed there is some room for it, as the stile runs, 'the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled,' by which, precedence being manifestly allotted to the spiritual peers, one would imagine their wives ought in reason to rank at least with the wives of the other. Besides, the refusing them this title is by no means consonant to the courtesy of England, in other respects, which in general is inclined rather to exceed, than be sparing of civility, to the fair sex more especially; thus the consort of the lord mayor of York, is a lady for the whole course of her life, and the wives of baronets, and, even of knights batchelors, do all enjoy the same titles, and yet the wives of the archbishops of Canterbury were no more than Mrs. Wake, or Mrs. Potter, though their husbands, by their dignity, had the precedence of dukes, the highest order of peers. And so it was anciently, for I remember to have read somewhere, I think in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, that queen Elizabeth leaving Lambeth, after an entertainment, spoke in this manner to the archbishop's wife, 'Mistress, I will not call you, and madam, I must not call you, but however, says she, I thank you?' Where you will please to observe, that madam, at that time of day, signified the same as my lady, in French, *madame*, in Italian, *ma donna.*

But what can be the meaning of this partiality? I take the case to be this; before the reformation the prelates as is well known, did not marry, so that no provision of this kind could be made till then; and at that time, and after, as in the reign of queen Elizabeth and James I. puritanism, which is seldom over-burthened with politeness, ran so strong, that the bishops were not likely to acquire any new privi-

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leges; attempts were made to deprive them of some of their old ones, but I question whether any one instance can be given of a new privilege conferred upon their order, as a separate body from the lay lords.

But what would you have done in this case? No more, Mr. Urban, than what is fitting, and common decency and civility so apparently require, which is, that in direct addresses, the wives of the bishops should be stiled ladies; and that, in speaking of them, as their husbands write themselves John Canterbury, Edward Duresme, &c. so their wives should be called lady John Canterbury, and lady Edward Duresme, &c. And this method, I apprehend, would answer every purpose, not only supply our present want of civility in this respect, but also be sufficient to distinguish the lady of the bishop ftom that of the lay lord, where both take their titles from the same place, as in Oxford, Lincoln, and the rest. It would also, in all probability, be sufficient in all cases to discriminate the surviving wife of a predecessor from that of a successor, or successors, as it might happen, since the christian names of their husbands are not often the same. Lastly, I would have the lady, to subscribe herself Ethelred W. Canterbury, and then, if the deputy earl marshal would pass an act in the office of arms, or but issue his command to the kings of arms, to make the proper entries there, and after that would cause a proclamation to be made in the Gazette, as is done in cases of public mourning, the business I suppose would be effected.

Yours, &c.

PAUL GEMSEGE.

1759, *April.*

XLIII. On the Egyptian Lotus.

Mr. URBAN,

THE following dissertation on a very curious subject, appeared to me, upon the perusal, to have so much merit, that I obtained leave of my learned and ingenious friend, the author, to impart it to the public by means of your excellent monthly collection. Mons. Mahudel, in *Montfaucon's Antiqq.* tom. vi. saw plainly, that the lotus of Egyp was an aquatic plant, and a species of the nymphæa, agreeing herein with my valuable friend; but then it should be remembered, that this last had never seen Mons. Mahudel's

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dissertation, and therefore his paper is justly entitled to all the honour and merit of an original discovery.

Yours, &c.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

Cubbit, April 2, 1759.

THE flower of the lotus, which adorns the heads of Isis and Orus, was almost peculiarly sacred to those two Egyptian deities. It has, however, the misfortune of losing more than half its beauties with many, because they are ignorant of the meaning of this attribute. For as, when the reverses of medals, or other monuments of antiquity, that express to us any allegorical deities, do clearly reveal to us the mystic knowledge they contain, no species of learning can be found more pleasing and instructive; so, on the other hand, if the devices remain obscure or unintelligible, what are they but mere blanks or chimæras, affording neither curiosity nor entertainment. They therefore, who have a taste for disquisitions of this kind, will find, that of all rational amusements, which tend to improve and refine the human understanding, none give us more noble ideas of man's benevolence, or his public spirit, than what is to be met with on the reverses of ancient coins, when once they are thoroughly understood. They represent their princes and great men in their most glorious characters, exhibiting them as public blessings, and the greatest benefactors of mankind.

Thus then, if we would have a true knowledge of medals, we must consider their reverses as denoting their meaning, 1st, by representation, 2dly, by symbols, 3dly, by hieroglyphics; these being the characteristics, whereby the ancients were wont to record their public benefactions, together with the virtues of their heroes, on medals.

The device I undertake to explain is the flower on the head of Isis, and in the hand of Orus, without concerning myself with any other part of the medal; and this I consider, not as it was received by the Romans in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, but as it was understood by the Egyptians in the earliest ages, even on the canonization of those deities. It seems to have been so long immersed and in such dark oblivion, that in the later times there was no vestige remaining of its first and original state. Isis is represented on this reverse as sitting on a chair of state, with a flower of the lotus on her head, and her son Orus sitting on her lap naked, with the same flower on his head, with a long stalk and a flower at its extremity, in his left hand,

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which I shall endeavour to prove, by analogy, to be the stalk and flower of the lotus.

The various opinions concerning this plant have hitherto rendered every determination very uncertain; and such false and precarious explanations must abate and lessen the credit of those who have so grossly misrepresented it; 'Florem illum sacrum Isidis capiti impositum, loti esse putat Laur. Pignorius in expositione Mensæ Isiacæ, et recte, utpote quem Ægyptii magnificerunt, ut constat ex Plinii, lib. xiii. c. 17 et 18. aliis abrotanum referre videtur, de quo Plinius lib. xxi. c. 10 et 21. roborando utero, vel eruçam, de qua dictum,

'Excitat ad Venerem tardos eruca maritos,

sunt qui Perseam interpretentur, cujus arbor Isidi sacra fuit.' Oiselius. If Pliny means the birds-foot trefoil, or any other land plant, it is certain he knew nothing of the true lotus; and, if this great naturalist knew not what it was, we may take it for granted, that the people of Rome knew less, who seem, in this case, to have worshipped these deities rather from the knowledge they had of their fables, than the history of their lives; in short, they appear to have known them better as gods, than as mortals.

As for our modern professors of virtue, they are so wide from the mark, that they have quite mistaken the element in which the plant grows; for if there be any credit to be given to Herodotus, the lotus is not a land plant, as they suppose it, but an aquatic, the water, and not the land being its proper situation; it was on the overflowing of the Nile, that this father of history saw it floating on the water in great abundance. ἐπειὰν πλήρης γίνηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὑδατι κρίνεα πολλα, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτοὺς ταῦτ' ἐπειὰν δρέψωσι, ἀυαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον· καὶ ἔστιλα τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῷ λωτῷ, τῷ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἀμφιρὲς, ὀκλήσαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρτους ὀπτὸς πυρὶ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τῷ λωτῷ τετε ἐδώδιμη καὶ ἐγγλυσσις ἐπιεικέως ἐὸν στρογγύλον, μέγεθος κατα μῆλον. 'When the river is become full, and all the groundsround it are a perfect sea, there grows a vast quantity of lilies, which the Egyptians called lotus, in the water. After they have cut them, they dry them in the sun; then, having parched the seed within the lotus, which is most like the poppy, they make bread of it, baking it with fire. The root also of the lotus is eatable, easily becoming sweet, being round, and of the size of an apple.' *Herodotus Eut.* c. 92. From so plain a direction, in so celebrated an author, it is strange how the writers, mentioned by Oiselius, could be guilty of such a notorious blunder, as to seek this plant

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on land, where it never did or could grow, instead of the water, where they might have been sure to have found it without much trouble, if they had but trusted to the evidence of an eye witness, and not to their own fanciful imaginations.

The lotus being thus re-instated in its proper element, from whence it has been unfortunately transported for so many ages, the next thing to be done, is, to consider where and to what tribe to refer this plant. This now is no difficult task to one whose wretched destiny it is, to live in the Delta of England, where the principal prospect is water, whereon are crawling insects innumerable, and in which grow some plants, and amongst the rest the lotus.

If analogy, or similitude, can be admitted as a reason, I will then venture to pronounce, that the Egyptian lotus, and the nymphæa alba major, are one and the same plant, and that there is no difference between them, but what is occasioned by the variety or difference of climates.

Before the reader gives his determination, he should compare what Herodotus has said of the inside of the flower-cup of the lotus, with the inside of the flower-cup of the nymphæa, or the white water lily, and he will find an exact similitude. But this is not all; he must view the stalk with the flower at its extremity in the medal, along with the nymphæa, when floating in the water in July, in all its glory, from whence he will be clearly convinced, that the stalk in the hand of Orus, with the flower at its extremity, can be no other but the white water lily. This I can assert, that after frequently examining them together, to me they seem in every part alike.

The lotus being now found not only to be an aquatic, but also to belong to a certain species, it is to be hoped we may from hence investigate the reason, why it was so particularly dedicated to the goddess Isis and her son Orus. It is well known that the Egyptians perpetuated their memorable facts by figures, which, when ascribed to their deities, often inculcated a double meaning; that is, they had different meanings, according to the different manners in which they were represented. Thus the lotus in this reverse, has a twofold meaning; it is both a representation and a symbol according to its different situation, and partakes not at all of the hieroglyphic, as it stands here.

In the hand of Orus it is figurative; importing no less a transaction, than his preservation. The Egyptians could not devise a more significant attribute to perpetuate the momentous event in the life of Isis, the saving of her son

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from perishing in the water, than the making this most beautiful water-flower the type or symbol of the deliverance. "Hunc, dum a Typhone ut spurium accusatum, imo discerptum, et in aquas projectum volunt, a Luna vero, seu Iside mundi matre, in aquâ repertum, vitæque restitutum et immortalem redditum dicunt." Oiselius, fig. iii. What interpretation can be more natural, or so expressive of the story, as what is here given of it upon the medal? The flower is placed in her son's hand, as a symbol of the fact, which yet was so ancient and obscure, as to be quite forgotten in the days of Hadrian, for, if the Romans then knew not the plant, how should they know the meaning of the device.

But now, on the other hand, the lotus, placed on the head of the goddess, was not a symbolical but a real representation, signifying that she had discovered the use of meal for the benefit of man, by kneading it into bread, ἐγὼ εἰμί ἡ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὑρεῦσα. A more beneficial invention never was, or could be, for man's support, than the act of making bread, which was gratefully commemorated by some cities with much pomp and ceremony. παρ' ἐνίαις δὲ των πολεων, καὶ τοῖς Ισειοις, ἐν τῇ πομπῇ μετὰ των ἄλλων φέρεσθαι πυθμενας πυρὼν καὶ κριθων, ἀπομνημόνευμα των ἐξαρχῆς τῇ θεῷ φιλοτεχνὸς εὑρεθεἰλων. "In some of the cities, in the feasts of Isis, there were carried in the procession, amongst other things, the stamina of wheat and and barley, as a memorial of the original and beneficial inventions of the goddess." Could any other representation be so full to the purpose, or declarative of the goddess's discovery, as the flower of that very plant, from whence the seed proceeded of which the bread was made? This however must be added, that if the lotus of the Nile made no better bread than the nymphæa alba major of the fens does, whoever sups on it once will never desire a second repast of the same. But still Herodotus assures us, that bread was actually made of it, and that's enough for our present purpose, seeing we are not speaking of the goodness of bread, but the fact of its invention.

1759, *April.* BEN. RAY.

XLIV. On the Temples of the Ancients.

AFTER all the wonders that have been related of the temples of Jupiter Olympius, Diana of Ephesus, Serapis, &c.

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it may well be questioned, if, upon the whole, those ancient edifices surpassed our modern churches in grandeur and riches. To determine the point, it will be necessary to take a view of the temples, built in the plains, and those erected in great cities.

Traverse the open countries of Greece, Peloponnesus, and the adjacent isles, and you will every where meet with little edifices, said to be temples; some half in ruins, others in tolerable good condition, without any thing material to distinguish them; no external ornaments, most of them brick, and the best of them finished in a dome or roof, ornamented with some slight sculpture. A few indeed there are surrounded with groves, consecrated by superstition, or designed to shade the worshippers of the idol; all of them placed in desarts, uninhabited, except by here and there a hermit, who makes it his whole study to amuse travellers with fables. It is not therefore among these structures that you are to look for the magnificence of the Grecian temples.

The Romans, who were also accustomed to erect temples in the country, derived all their deities, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, from Greek origin. There was not a single canton of Attica, or Thessaly, where some metamorphosis had not been wrought, or some divine combat happened. These exploits served to extend superstition, and multiply the monuments that were to perpetuate it. But the Romans, who were the petty imitators of the Greeks, fell short of their masters in the dimensions of their insulated temples.

It may perhaps be said, that we give the name of temples to edifices, which, in ancient times, were never considered as such; but without entering into a discussion, let it suffice, that the buildings we are speaking of, were sacred and public; still retaining their first furniture of statues, altars, and tripods. We meet with nothing more essential to the ceremonious part of worship, among the larger temples of Athens and Corinth. If no other structures were to be comprehended in the denomination of temples, but those whose extent is to be measured by acres and *stadia*, it must be admitted that Rome herself, the city of all the Gods, had no more than three; those of Jupiter Capitolinus, of Peace, and the Pantheon. These are the only ones that were above the ordinary size; the last, still subsisting, is but 144 feet in diameter. Time has also spared the temple of Fortuna Virilis, and of Vesta; the one is an oblong square, the other round: the Pantheon will hold them both.

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We know to what heights the bold imaginations of the ancient architects ascended, in their profane edifices, as theatres, baths, and basilicæ. But we must examine their city temples, to know if they did as much in honour of their Gods.

Most of the antiquarians, who have treated of ancient temples, have been more curious in describing their magnificence, than in fixing their dimensions. In what they have said upon this head, we have discovered two marks of inaccuracy, out of which has arisen the false idea that has prevailed of the sacred edifices of Greece and Rome. 1. They apply to temples in general, what appertained only to some particular ones. 2. They distinguish not between the temple and its appendages. They tell us, that in the front of these temples there was always a spacious court, called the area, where merchants vended the necessaries for sacrifices, offerings, and libations; that there was besides, a fountain for purifying the sacrificators and victims; that from the area you passed into a court called Atrium; thence to the Vestibulum, and then into the body of the building, named Cella, where were the Gods, Altars, &c. This Cella consisted of three principal divisions; the Basilica, answering our nave; the Adytum, like a sanctuary; and the Tribunal, where stood the statute of the deity whose name the temple bore. They speak of the Penetrale and Sacrarium, and are not a little perplexed about the distribution of these several parts. If this description holds good of the temple of Diana Ephesea, or of Jupiter Olympius, it cannot of most of the rest.

Ancient Rome was of immense extent; but, considering the great number of temples contained within it, we must suppose it at least three times as large as it really was, if all those temples were furnished with porticos, Prodromi, &c. It is certain, that during the six first centuries of Rome the temples were no larger, nor more magnificent, than the houses of the citizens, which were but of one floor; their poverty would admit of no more. Such at least, was the state of things before the Romans made conquests in Greece. Pliny assures us, that in the 662d year of the city, there was not a marble column in any public edifice; at which time the temple of the Feretrian Jupiter was but fifteen feet in length. Fortune was one of the deities most honoured by the Romans; the worship of Vesta was held most sacred, and what I have remarked of the temples of these goddesses, which are still standing, may suffice to mo-

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derate the ideas of those who have not seen them, as to their extent.

The revolution in the government under Julius Cæsar, brought about a general one in the arts; which, till then, were the concern only of a few opulent citizens, as Crassus, Lucullus, Pompey, &c. The temples of the Gods were the first public structures where magnificence succeeded meanness, and brick was converted into marble; yet these sacred buildings increased but little in size. The great men built more for themselves than for the Gods; they enlarged their palaces; they erected aqueducts, baths, and the Forum.

We are not to rely upon the report of architects, concerning the sacred monuments of antiquity. Frequently led by prejudice, they are too sparing of criticism in their observations; they too readily imagine beauties in the antique; and, in representing ruins, when they meet not with all their fancy suggests, they are apt to add something of their own. Palladio, for instance, who has designed the temple of Faustina, says, that though he could discover no ornaments within it, yet it must have certainly been enriched with very magnificent ones; and so takes his crayon and sketches niches, statues, and pedestals, and then cries out, *such was the inside of the temple of Faustina!* He goes still further, and in the heat of his composition, in the front, and on the right and left, he adds grand porticos, without recollecting, that he encroached on the temple of Rhemus, which stood but ten paces from the other, and without considering that he barred up the passage of the triumphers, who proceeded to the capital along the *via sacra*.

The temple of the Olympian Jove at Athens, we are told, was more than four *stadia* in circumference; that is, above two thousand four hundred feet; be it so. But let us make the same distribution of this space as the ancients did, and we shall have a just idea of its real size. In this circle must be included a monument, sacred to Saturn and Rhea, a wood, statues without number, and colossuses as enormous as those at Rhodes, all which must reduce Jupiter's temple to the size of an ordinary house, as we shall see hereafter it really was: What then shall we say of the Greek temples, in which were libraries, gymnasia, and baths? Why doubtless, that they were sacred villæ, but not temples.

M. *le Roi's Ruins of the Monuments of Greece*, lately published, have given me the satisfaction of finding examples sufficient to justify my notions, as to the magnitude of the ancient temples. According to this gentleman's dimensions,

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the columns of the Pantheon of Hadrian, one of the vastest monuments of Greece, were scarce above sixty feet high, though not formed out of one block. Those at Rome in the Campo Vaccino, in the forum of Nerva, and in that of Pallas, are still shorter, though of several pieces; yet as these served for decorations of public places, it is natural to think they were of some of the largest proportions.

Perhaps it will be urged that they placed several orders one above another, which was, indeed, the case in some temples of Greece. Pausanias mentions only two or three of these; which, in so exact and attentive a traveller, is a convincing proof that the double order was rare. Vitruvius does not assert it of the Hypæthrum, and assigns temples of that form, to no less deities than Jupiter, Cœlus, and the Sun.

By entering into these particulars, I pretend not to inform the connoisseurs, but to give an account of such works as I think necessary towards forming a just idea of the ancient temples. Their structure differing so widely from that of our churches, that the one can by no means lead us to an exact knowledge of the other. Whoever has seen St. Sulpice at Paris, but not St. Roch, may pretty nearly imagine the composition, form, and distribution of the latter church, from a bare knowledge, that it is somewhat less than the former; but such degrees of comparison will be insufficient between the ancient and the modern. It will give very little satisfaction to observe that all antiquity never produced any thing of a sacred building, so vast as St. Peter's at Rome; a reason should also be given, why it did not, nor could do it.

I am sufficiently apprised of what strikes the imagination, and raises it to such romantic heights, whilst we attend to the descriptions of ancient temples: it was the prodigious number of columns they were enriched with, that inchants us. How can we avoid believing an edifice to be extremely vast, that is supported by a hundred, or a hundred and fifty pillars? We have seen Gothic churches, with not above 40 or 50, wide enough to lose ourselves in. How vast then, we say, must the temples have been, which had twice or thrice that number? The mistake of the fancy arises from this, that it places within the body of the temple, or in the Cella, that which really stood without it. It should be noted in general, that this Cella was the least object of the old architects care; they never began to think about it, before they had distributed and adorned the exterior, because that was to be the proof of genius, taste, and magnificence. The

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grand was not then estimated by the number of square feet contained in the area, which the wall inclosed, but from their outworks, of an hundred and twenty columns, as those of Hadrian's Pantheon, or of thirty-six only, as those of the temple of Theseus. From the ruins of Athens it even appears, that the richness and extent of the outworks were sometimes the very cause of contracting the Cella, within a narrower space than might have been otherwise allotted it.

What I have been last observing, respects temples of an oblong square, the most useful form. They did not keep altogether to the same rules in their Rotundos, or circular temples; some are surrounded with pillars, without any portico to the entrance; such are the temples of Vesta at Rome and Tivoli; others had porticos before them, without any incircling columns, an instance of which we meet with in the Roman Pantheon, the most superb and vast monument of that form which perhaps the ancients ever erected; of this latter form of circular temples Vitruvius makes no mention; and, to the former, he assigns a diameter of the length of one column only, with its capital and base, so that nothing of a grand extent could ever take place here.

But to strengthen my proofs of the small extent of the ancient temples; I will, in the first place, bring that of Jupiter Olympius, at Athens, as an example. According to M. le Roi, the Cella was no more than six toises wide, and something exceeding sixteen in length. Observe now, to what a small matter is an edifice reduced, which has been affirmed to be no less than four stadia in circumference! Take notice too, that this was an Hypæthrum, or open at top. Hadrian's Pantheon was twenty toises long, by less than fourteen wide. Pausanias assigns the height of sixty-eight feet to the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, and makes it two hundred and thirty feet long and ninety-five wide. From the length and breadth we must deduct those of the ales, Prodromus, and Opisthodomus, taking the height from the ceiling, and not from the angular vertex of the Fastigium; and then this temple will, at most, be upon an equality with many churches in Rome and Paris, built about two centuries ago, in the taste of the Greek architecture, but nothing to compare with our Gothic cathedrals, in point of spacious magnitude.

If we pass from Greece to Rome, and examine the temple of Vespasian, we shall find that it was really grand.

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And, if the taste of the architecture had been answerable to the capacity and richness of it, Athens itself could not have shewn any thing beyond it; but the architect aiming, perhaps, at something new, was, it must be allowed, bold in his design, but left it quite destitute of graces. Its length, of three hundred and forty feet, besides the portico, with a breadth of two hundred and fifty, set it plainly above all the modern churches of France or Italy, except St. Peter's; but it still falls short of many Gothic ones.

What added much to the majesty of the ancient temples, was their high elevation above the subjacent plain, with an easy ascent to their porticos by a flight of five, seven, or nine broad stairs, which always disjoined them from every profane building, and gave the distant eye a full view of their form and ornaments on every side; the numbers of bronze and marble statues, which decorated the avenues and inside of the porticos, the profusion of gilt work, and the allegoric groups in the front, all combining to form a mass which carried gravity without heaviness; grand, but not gigantic. Those rich and elegant compositions, charm us even in the graver's representations; what effect then must they not have produced on the minds of those who had the infinitely greater advantage of viewing them on the spot, in their own precious materials!

After what has been said concerning the temples of the ancients it is natural to consider the buildings called churches, which succeeded them, after Christianity began to take place of Paganism. These buildings, during a long period of time, wanted both the elegance and the riches of the ancient temples, and it is those only which have been erected since the 15th century that can be considered as models, either of proportion or ornament. The several changes, however, which these buildings have suffered in their figure, structure, and decoration, is a subject that seems not altogether unworthy of attention.

To mark the gradual progress of any art, from its first rudiments to its perfection, is extremely pleasing, but we are much more struck when we see this art disappear at once, as if by a stroke of inchantment; when, not even the idea of perfection remains, when the most obvious and easy rules are forgotten, the most natural principles neglected, and the most rude and disgusting heaps thrown together, while models of beauty and propriety were every where to be seen in the buildings of former times.

It is difficult to conceive by what strange fatality it could happen, that the architects of the fifth and sixth centuries,

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in all parts of Europe, rejected, as if by common consent, the Greek and Roman manner, chose to set up pillars instead of columns, and to render even these pillars more like the Doric, the heaviest of the three Grecian orders, than any other. They saw in the frizes of regular structures, figures of eagles and griffins; the eagle they neglected, and they copied the griffin for no other apparent reason than because it was a monster not existing in nature: in the bas relief they found geniusses, trophies, and flowers, none of which they thought proper to imitate, but they hewed out owls, and frogs, and monkies, and in a thousand other instances, shewed a perversion of taste and judgment, which would have been altogether incredible, if the monuments of it were not still extant among us. Of these the old English Gothic are certainly the chief, both for their antiquity and their grandeur; but before there was any structure erected in the Gothic stile, many execrable things, called buildings, were produced upon the degrading principles of Grecian architecture, and the time from the extinction, or rather perversion of ancient taste may be divided into three periods; from the 4th century to the 9th, from the 9th to the end of the 15th, and from that time to the present.

Though the Christians were at first so scattered and oppressed by persecution, that they had no better places of worship than the caves, which they formed or made in the sides of rocks, or below the surface of the ground, yet they had public places of worship before the 4th century. Some ecclesiastical authors have asserted, that the Christians had spacious churches richly adorned before the time of Constantine the Great; for they say, that the first object of his care, after the defeat of Mazentius, was the reparation of the temples of the true God; but to give these authors all their weight, their testimony can only refer to the churches of the east: those in the Lesser Asia, in Syria, and the Lower Egypt; those of the west, and even of Rome, are entirely out of the question; for though it be true, that from the time of Trajan to that of Constantine, the emperors resided as much in Asia as in Europe, yet it is equally true, that Christianity was much more repressed and restrained in Europe than in Asia. During the reign of Dioclesian, and some other emperors, who distinguished themselves by their moderation, the Christians ventured to quit their vaults and catacombs, and erected some buildings, which were set apart for the public worship of God; but as they were in perpetual fear of persecution, even when they did not suffer it, so long as the emperors con-

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tinued idolators, they did not dare to give their churches an air of grandeur, lest the jealousy of the infidels should raise a new storm against them. It seems therefore probable, that the spacious and rich churches mentioned by Eusebius and Nicephorus, were only spacious and rich in comparison of the caverns and dens, in which the Christians assembled in times of actual persecution; of these there are not now the least remains, but perhaps it is easy to form a just idea of them, by considering what the churches were, which were erected when Christianity was first the established religion, when its patrons were the lords of the world, and its professors might safely hold the power of idolaters in defiance. Of these there are several now extant; some that were built in the reign of Constantine, and others from the time of his children and successors till the total ruin of the empire.

We must therefore date our inquiry into the form of the architecture and decorations of the churches of the west from the reign of Constantine. This prince, after his conversion, did not content himself with repairing the churches which had been built already, but he signalised his zeal by many monuments of the triumph of that religion which he had adopted. He might indeed have devoted to the service of Christianity some of the finest temples of Pagan superstition, and posterity would then not only have commended his piety but admired his taste. He thought, perhaps, that the Pagan temples had been too much prophaned by idolatry to receive the pure worshippers of Christ; he might think them too small, or he might not chuse to give his heathen subjects offence; however, for these, or some other reasons, he chose rather to build new structures than change the use of the old; and, therefore, he gave his own palace of Latran, at Mount Cælius, to supply materials for building a Christian Church. Soon after which he built that of St. Peter, at Mount Vatican, and another in the Ostian way, dedicated to St. Paul. All these were built upon the same plan, and that of St. Paul still preserves its original form, called the Basilick, because it was the same with that of certain large buildings adjacent to royal palaces, where sovereign princes administered justice to their people; some other buildings, called also from their figure Basilicks, were used as a kind of exchange for merchants to negociate their business in the time of this emperor. A Basilick was a pile of building twice as long as it was wide, and terminated at one of its extremities by a hemicycle; two orders of columns placed one upon another reached the whole length

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of the building within, and formed one grand walk in the middle, between one row of columns and the other, and two narrower walks, one between each row of columns and the wall. To the extremity terminated by the hemicycle, there was sometimes added a branch, or arm, reaching from one side to the other, and giving the whole building the form of a T. This form of building was perferred by Constantine, probably because it was roomy, solemn, majestic, and expressed the figure of the cross. St. Paul's however, though in its original state, does by no means give us a just idea of the Basilicks of antiquity from which it was copied, for its want of proportion, and the bad taste of its ornaments, sufficiently shew that architecture was greatly degenerated, even in the time of Constantine. The nave is adorned with four rows of columns, twenty in each row, which divide it into five walks, each column being one block of marble, except a very few; of the forty that form the middle walk, twenty-four are said to have been brought from the tomb of Hadrian: they are about three feet in diameter, of the Corinthian order, fluted; the marble is veined with blue, and there is nothing of the kind among all the remains of antiquity that exceeds them, either in workmanship or materials; the other sixteen are of a greyish white, and are the most clumsy and heavy imaginable; scarcely any two of them are the same in all their proportions, and there is not one in which the lines of the fluting are straight, or the hollow cleanly cut out, and of an equal depth. It appears, at the first glance, that the carver worked merely by his eye, without any principle to direct him, and, at every stroke of his chissel looked with a scrupulous perplexity at his model, supposing that he had not ill imitated it, when he had chipped the shaft into grooves from the capital to the base. The other forty columns are of granite, and are much less; the surface may be said to be smooth as a distinction from being fluted, but, in every other sense, it is rough and irregular. In the two branches of the transverse part of the building, at the end which forms the top of the T, there are many columns of different kinds of marble, some red, some grey, and some of a dirty white, not answering to each other in any kind of symmetry.

The good Greek and Roman architects always gave their columns an entablature: but the architects of Constantine not thinking that necessary, the columns of St. Paul's nave are without it. Over the columns there is a wall carried up more than 30 feet, which supplies the place of the

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second order of columns, used in the Basilicks of the Romans; the two branches of the cross only have a ceiling; the nave is only covered with a sloping roof, of which the naked timbers are seen from below. Upon this occasion, it may be remarked, that none of the first Roman churches were vaulted, for among all that remain there is not one with such a roof to be found, and in those which have ceilings, the ceiling appears manifestly to have been added in later times; for it was not common, even in the 16th century, for any part of the church to be ceiled but the chancel. This defect might have been imputed to the timid ignorance of the builders, if it was not certain that those who vaulted the baths of Constantine might, if they had thought fit, have vaulted a church; and it might have been imputed to a servile imitation of the Pagan Basilicks, if we had not been told by Vitruvius, that some of them were covered with vaulted roofs. As to the front of the Basilick of St. Paul, there is a modern portico about 20 feet high, and the rest is a brick wall, having on the point at top a Greek cross, decorated with some rude Mosaic. To this general description many particulars may be added, which will shew in a still stronger light the stupidity and ill taste of the time; some of the columns have no base at all; others are all base, being one great square block; in one place a column of the Corinthian order is placed opposite to one of the Composite; in another the Tuscan is contrasted with the Ionic, yet the whole appears to have been the painful effort of long labour, and unremitted diligence; nor must it be forgotten that the 24 columns, which were already exquisitely finished, are, by an ingenious contrivance, made to share in the general impropriety, for, instead of being equally divided in opposite rows, thirteen of them are placed on one side, and eleven on the other.

Thus it appears, that all which the magnificence of Constantine, who erected the edifice, and of Theodosius, who added some ornaments, could effect, was to raise a vast structure, and to decorate it with the spoils of those buildings that had been erected when the arts were in their perfection. After the persecutions against Christianity had entirely ceased, more churches abounded at Rome than at any other place; they were erected over the tombs of martyrs, and even formed out of the houses, which they had inhabited; little obscure oratories were enlarged into public temples, and the edicts that were published from the time of Constantine to that of Theodosius, for the destruction of Pagantemples, furnished the pious founders with

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spoils of inestimable value, of which, however, they made a very bad use; for the plan of Constantine's Basilicks was universally followed, whether the church to be built was little or great, except that sometimes the building at the end, which gave the whole the figure of the cross, was omitted: they are all filled with columns, taken from ancient buildings, and set up without the least regard to their height or their diameter, to the kind of marble, the order, or the decorations by which they are distinguished; from those which were too long the base is taken away, and to those that were too short a supplemental base was added, so that some columns in the same row have two bases, and some have none. Entablatures were quite out of fashion, and neither frize nor moulding of the cornice was to be attempted: such are all the churches that are at this time to be found in Rome, except two or three rotundas, and those which have been erected or modernised since the revival of the arts. Such are the principal productions of twelve successive ages, and when they are beheld and considered it is easy to make a just estimation of the magnificence which has been attributed to them by the authors of the lives of the popes, such as Anastasius, the library keeper, Platina, and some others. There are, however, seven or eight ancient buildings that have been converted into Christian churches, but they are neither great nor beautiful, the Pantheon excepted, and so diligent were the saints, in the first ardour of their zeal, to fulfil the edicts of the emperor, for the abolition of Pagan ingenuity, that of 2000 temples, which were standing within the walls of Rome, in the meridian of her glory, these are all that remain: the temple of Faustina serves at this hour for a chapel to a religious house, and the temple of Remus is become a kind of vestibule to a conventual church.

1759, *July and Aug.*

XLIV. Description of the first Theatre at Athens.

ANCIENT authors have treated of the construction of theatres but obscurely and imperfectly. Vitruvius has given us no account either of their dimensions, or of the number of their principal and constituting parts; presuming, I suppose, that they had been well enough known, or could never have

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perished; for example, he does not determine the dimensions of the rows of benches. Among the more modern writers, the learned Scaliger has omitted the most essential parts; and the citations of Bulingerus from Athenæus, Hesychius, Eustathius, Suidas, and others, throw but a weak and imperfect light on the real construction of ancient theatres.

An exact description of the theatre of Bacchus in Athens, whose circumference is still visible, and whose ruins are a monument of its ancient magnificence, will give us a true idea of these structures. The famous architect Philos built this theatre in the time of Pericles, above two thousand years ago: it consisted without of three rows of *porticos* or *galleries*, one above the other, and was of a circular form; the diameter was one hundred Athenian feet, nearly the same in English measure, for which reason it was called by the Athenians, *Hecatompedon*. A part of the area, which comprehended fourteen feet of the diameter, did not belong precisely to the theatre, being behind the scene.

The theatre itself was divided into two principal partitions, one for the spectators, and the other for the representations. The parts designed for the spectators were the *conistra*, which the Romans called *arena*: the rows or benches, the little stairs, and the gallery called *circus*. The parts appropriated to the actors were the *orchestra*, the *logeon*, or *thymele*, the *proscenion* and the *scene*. In that part of the edifice allotted to the spectators were twenty-four rows of seats, or benches, ascending gradually one above the other, and proceeding round the *conistra* or *arena*, in an arch of a circle, to the stage, which the Greeks called *proscenion*. These benches were distinguished eight and eight, by three *coridors*, or passages, which were called *diazoma*. They were of the same figure with the rows of seats, and were contrived for the passage of the spectators from one story to another, without incommoding those who were already placed. For the same convenience there were stairs that passed from one coridor to another, across the several rows; and near those stairs there were doors, by which the people entered from the galleries on the outside, and took their places according to their rank and distinction. The best places were in the middle division, containing eight rows of seats, between the eighth and seventeenth: this division was called *bouleuticon*, and designed for the magistrates: the other rows were called *ephebicon*, and were for the citizens, after they were eighteen years of age.

The height of each of these rows of benches was about

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thirteen inches; their breadth about twenty-two inches; the lowest bench was near four feet high from the level of the floor; the height and breadth of the coridors and passages was double the height and breadth of the benches. The sides of the stairs passing from the body of the edifice towards the stage were not parallel; for the space betwixt them grew sharper as they came near the *comistra* or *arena*, and ended in the figure of a wedge, whence the Romans called them cunei, to prevent the falling down of the rain upon those steps, there were penthouses set up to carry off the water.

Above the upper coridor there was a gallery, called *circys*, for the women, where those who were infamous, or irregular in their lives, were not permitted to enter.

This theatre was not so capacious as that which was built in Rome by Marcus Scaurus, the Ædilis; for in that there was room for seventy-nine thousand persons; in this there was room for six thousand; it could not contain less, for the suffrages of the people were taken in it, and by the Athenian laws six thousand suffrages were requisite to make a decree of the people authentic.

Thus much for the place appointed for the spectators: as to that which was designed for the actors (which comprehended the *orchestra*, the *logeon* or *thymele*, the *proscenion*, and the *scene*) the *orchestra* was about four feet from the ground; its figure was an oblong square, thirty-six feet in length, extending from the stage to the rows of benches; its breadth is not mentioned in the memoirs I have of the dimensions of this theatre, which were taken on the spot about one hundred years since, by Mons. de la Guillatiere, an ingenious traveller. In certain places of it the music, the chorus, and the mimics were conveniently disposed. Among the Romans it was put to a more honourable use, for the emperor and senate had places upon it. Upon the flat of the *orchestra*, towards the place of the actors, was an elevation or platform, called *logeon* or *thymele*, which among the Romans was called *pulpitum*; it was higher than the *orchestra*; its figure was square, being six feet every side; and in this place the principal part of the chorus made their recitations, and in comical interludes the mimics used to perform in it.

The *proscenion*, or stage, was raised above the *logeon*. That great architect, Philos, contrived the edifice in such a manner as that the representations may be seen, and the voices of the actors and music heard, with the greatest advantage. The *proscenion* was eighteen feet in breadth, and its length extended from one side of the edifice to the

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opposite side, but not diametrically, being eighteen feet distant from the centre.

The *scene*, properly speaking, was the columns and ornaments in architecture, raised from the foundation, and upon the sides of the *proscenion*, for its beauty and decoration. Agatarchus was the first architect who found out the way of adorning scenes by the rules of perspective, and Æschylus assisted him.

Parascenion signified the entire space before and behind the *scene*; and the same name was given to all the avenues and passages from the music room to the place where the actors performed.

The theatre of Regilla, not far from the temple of Theseus in Athens, was covered magnificently, having a fair roof of cedar. The *odeon*, or theatre for music, was covered likewise; but no part of the theatre of Bacchus, which we have described, was covered, except the *proscenion* and *circys*. The Athenians, being exposed to the weather, came usually with great cloaks, to secure them from the rain or the cold; and for defence against the sun, they had the *sciadion*, a kind of parasol, which the Romans used also in their theatres by the name of *umbrellæ*; but when a sudden storm arose, the play was interrupted, and the spectators dispersed.

A sort of tent-work over the entire area of the edifice might have been contrived as a shelter from the rain, and a shade from the sun. Such a covering would have obviated the inconveniences of roofed theatres, which obstruct the free communication of the air, and of unroofed theatres, which do not keep out the weather. At Athens the plays were always represented in the day-time, which made the unroofed theatres less inconvenient.

In that now described, Philos has preserved a just symmetry of architecture, and shewed great judgment in assisting the communication of sounds; for the voice being extenuated in an open and spacious place, where the distant walls, though of marble, could give little or no repercussion to make it audible; he contrived cells in the thickness of the *coridors*, in which he placed brass vessels, supported by wedges of iron, that they might not touch the wall. The voice proceeding from the stage to the *coridors*, and striking upon the concavity of those vessels, was reverberated with more clearness and force: their number in all were twenty-eight, and were called *echea*, because they gave an augmentation or an echo to the sound.

Outwardly there was a *portico*, consisting of a double gallery, divided by rows of pillars, called the portico of Eu-

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menicus. The floor of this portico was raised a good distance from the ground, so that from the street they ascended to it by stairs: it was of an oblong square figure, embellished with green pallisadoes to please the eyes of those who walked in it. Here it was that their repetitions were made, and proposed for the theatre, as other music and symphony was in the *odeon*.

If ever the present generation, or posterity, would dignify the drama with such noble edifices as were constructed for it by the ancient Greeks and Romans, they should enter into articles with the dramatic poets and performers, that no immodest witticisms be repeated, and no lascivious passions expressed on the stage. If the passion of love is to be described, let it be described with decency, as that of Dido for Æneas, in the Æneid. A true dramatic genius can invent other fables on that and models of the like kind.

Not only the modesty of the spectators is to be scrupulously respected, but likewise every other virtue: when vice is the subject of the drama, it ought to be represented in an odious light; the unfortunate Mr. Budgel threw himself into the Thames, to do, *what Cato had done, and Addison approved**. See the bad effects of vice, represented as a virtue! That the rules of virtue and decorum be regarded in all respects, the theatres should be removed from the neighbourhood of brothels, or the brothels should be compelled to remove out of the neighbourhood of the theatres; then these amusements may become as innocent as they are diverting. In the situation of a theatre, not only the manners of the people are to be considered, but also their health, by having it in a free and open air.

In Athens the scene looked upon the castle-hill; the Cynosarges, a suburb of Athens, was behind it; the Musæon, a hill so called from the poet Musæus, was on the right-hand; and the caussey leading to Pyræum, the neighbouring seaport, was on the other side.

1760, *April.*

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* Addison's representation of Cato's suicide does not amount to a full approbation of the practice, even upon Cato's principles; but if it had, it could not encourage the same practice in a Christian; this stricture, therefore, of our ingenious correspondent does not seem to be quite just.

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XLV. Description of the Amphitheatre at Nismes.

MR. URBAN,

I Send you a genuine extract of a letter, containing a description of the Amphitheatre at Nismes: if you think it can be acceptable to your readers, it is at your service; from,

Yours, &c. R. P.

"We had determined to make Nismes our winter-quarters, where, safe from the storms and tempests of the north, and under the influence of a mild and genial day, we might have sufficient leisure to examine those noble remains of Roman magnificence by which this city is distinguished from all others in France. Animated with this idea, and enamoured of the simple grandeur that distinguishes ancient from modern buildings, we left Paris in the dead of winter, and turned our backs on all the splendid exhibitions with which that fascinating city abounds. Here, while our friends in the north are freezing by the fire, we either sit with the windows open to catch the influence of the enlivening sun, or sally out to visit the Amphitheatre, the temple of Diana, or some other curiosity with which our Roman residence abounds.

The city of Nismes was chosen by the Romans in preference to every other city of Transalpine Gaul. Having had the whole world as the objects of their choice, they shewed, in their preference of Nismes, that they well knew how to chuse a situation. This city stands on a gradual descent; below, a rich valley, covered with corn in its due season, extends till it is lost to the sight; behind, the hill ascends like a theatre, covered with vines, and olive-trees, almost to the summit, which is crowned with wood. Corn, wine, and oil, are decisive marks of a fertile country. If any thing is wanting to complete the idea, silk might be added; abundance of mulberry-trees are cultivated in the plains, to furnish the large manufactories of silk stockings, for which Nismes, has been long famous. But these, it may be said, are present appearances and modern improvements. It is confessed. The state of agriculture, and the arts, at the time when this city was cherished and favoured by the Romans, has not been handed down to us with sufficient accuracy. But, a monument of their skill in architecture, one of the noblest and most useful of the arts, has subsisted upwards of 1600 years, and still bids fair to survive modern

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buildings. Imagine me, my dear friend, as writing this upon one of the seats of the glorious Amphitheatre where the once masters of the world were seated. Form to yourself the idea of a perfect ellipse, whose longest axis from east to west is upwards of 400 feet; its shortest more than 300. To an eye placed in the arena, and looking up around the 32 rows of seats rising over each other, which held the spectators, computed at about 20,000, the various party-coloured dresses, different attitudes, &c. which such a numerous and mixed assembly must have produced, create a *tout-ensemble* that beggars all description, and exceeds all the idea that the imagination of a modern can conceive; as no spectacle from which to form an analogy now exists on the face of the globe. One of the largest, if not the largest, theatres in Europe, is the opera-house at Paris, which yet does not contain 3000 persons. This Amphitheatre was built by the Romans, in the time of Antoninus Pius, to decorate a provincial city, far from their capital, and at an expence which a nation now could scarcely bear. The external is formed in two rows of columns, of the Tuscan order, opened with two rows of arcades, sixty in a row, which gives such an air of lightness to a building of such amazing extent as is almost inconceivable. Four great arcades give access to the arena and internal part of the building: these arcades are exactly opposed to the four cardinal points, of which the north appears to have been the principal, having a grand pediment over it. These lead to the stair-cases, which end in three ranges of *vomitoria*, that conducted the spectators to their seats: the lower range is totally destroyed; of the second, little remains; but of the third, almost the whole. On entering the theatre from the upper range of vomitories, the *coup d'oeil* is most astonishing. The entire wall of more than three fourths of the building is complete: the rows of seats are differently broken in different places; in one they are complete, as far as to 17: there were originally 32. An author of character, who has written a book purposely on the curiosities of Nismes, has calculated the number of possible spectators at something more then 17,000; by allowing 20 inches of seat to each person, he seats that number very commodiously. I measured out 20 inches upon one of the seats, and found I did not nearly occupy it; seventeen were sufficient for me, sitting at my ease: and I incline to believe, that in crowded assemblies fourteen inches are as much space as each person, on an average, can separately occupy. I have therefore little difficulty in supposing that 20,000,

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which is generally given as the round number, might be very commodiously seated within this Amphitheatre. The seats are of a very convenient height, from 18 to 22 inches: they are solid, square, or rather parallelogramic blocks of stone of immense size, and were probably covered for the accommodation of the higher ranks of people. I measured four of the stones in the second row of arcades, and found several upwards of 17 feet in length; breadth and thickness proportional. They are laid without the smallest quantity of cement, and the whole construction is simple to a degree that is almost inconceivable; yet in some places, the junction is scarcely perceptible, but the whole wall appears, as it were, one solid block, with the fissures almost obliterated. The arches are turned of solid wedge-shaped blocks, placed side by side, and thus the incumbent weight enormous as it was, only pressed the wedges closer together. Instead of cement, they fastened the stones with large cramps of iron, four or five inches broad, and two inches deep: but though they rejected the use of mortar from those parts of the building which were exposed to the open air, yet in the internal parts a great quantity is found, but not of that friable kind in use at this day, and which crumbles to dust between the fingers. The Roman mortar of this building is as hard as the stone itself, and seems to be composed of pieces of marble, pulverised stones, all connected by a gluten, and now scarcely to be broken with a hammer. Large broad, flat surfaces, accurately fitted to each other, and touching exactly in all points, supported enormous weights in ancient building; and in a late addition to an ancient work at the *Pont du Garde*, (another glorious remain of ancient grandeur) I remarked, that, to occupy the same surface in similar buildings, where the ancients made use of two stones, the moderns employ nine, and sometimes twelve. Nothing but the extreme difficulty, perhaps, of taking such a pile to pieces, has preserved it to the present time, considering the number of rude shocks it has undergone from savage hands. Marks of fire appear in several parts of the building. The ornaments of this building are various; among these one of the most conspicuous is the Roman eagle; and on several of the pillars of the Amphitheatre are sculptured those species, which however indelicate in modern times, one would almost be led to conjecture, were intended, at least in many instances, rather as symbols of population and the strength of a state. All the ornaments are greatly mutilated, and the Roman eagles are all decapitated. The savage conquerors that

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triumphed over the Roman power, insulted the vanquished by disgracing and destroying their arms.—I now take my leave, shortly to quit the shores of the Mediterranean, and depart for Italy.

Mar. 22, 1778.
1778, *May.* Yours, &c.

XLVI. On the date of a book said to have been printed in 1454.

IT has been affirmed by contemporary writers, and is now generally agreed to (except by some Dutchmen too much prejudiced in favour of their country) that the art of printing in Europe was first attempted by certain persons at Mentz,* between the years 1440 and 1450, and some few years after, during which time many fruitless trials were made, and perfected in that city, by John Fust and Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim. The first book we meet with printed by them, with separate metal types, that has a date to it, is the Psalmorum Codex, which came from their press in 1457: but one, with a supposed earlier date, having lately been taken notice of by the learned, I beg leave on that account to make a few remarks on it.

This book, which was in the possession of the late Rev.

* John Gensfleisch, surnamed Guttemberg, John Fust, and John Meydenbach. It was long a controverted question, whether Guttemberg or Fust was the inventor of that art, the first ideas of which, it is supposed, were conceived about the year 1440, till happily the original instrument was found, whereby it appears, that the former only associated the others with him for the sake of their purses, he not being able to succeed without, on account of the great expences attending the cutting of the blocks of wood, which, after they were once printed from, became entirely useless for any other work. This instrument, which is dated Nov. 6. 1455, is decisive in favour of Guttemberg. But the honour of the discovery of single types, made of metal, is ascribed to Fust, wherein he received great assistance from his servant Peter Schoeffer, who devised the puncheons, matrices, and moulds, for casting them, on which account he was taken into partnership by his master, after his (Fust's) quarrel with Guttemberg, and their separation in 1455. Those who have asserted, that Fust was the first inventor of printing, have given for a reason, that they have never seen any book with Guttemberg's name to it; without considering, that their first essays in printing both by blocks and moveable types, being sold for manuscripts, were anonymous, the invention being by them intended to be kept secret, nor was it divulged till their disagreement, by which time Fust had made himself master of that art, and Guttemberg was not able to proceed in it alone, for the reason abovementioned.

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Mr. Calamy, is mentioned in the catalogue of such part of his library as after his decease was sold, and is there inserted, page 36, under the following title. 'Engbartus de Leydis de arte dictandi libri tres. Tractatus de Elegantia Compositione et Dignitate, per Enghelbertum. Gerardus Leeu impressit 1454;' to which is subjoined this note, 'Est primus liber impressus. Maittaire, Mead, &c. nunquam viderunt.' These words are the occasion of the present observations, which I make, to shew that it is far from being the first printed book, the date being that of its publication when in manuscript, and not of its impression.

Some gentlemen have imagined the date in question to have been falsified by the printer, either by design or mistake; but for this there was no occasion, as will appear by giving a due attention to the subscription, which is at the end of the treatise *De arte dictandi*, in the following words:

De arte dictandi tres libri expliciunt, editi a magistro engbarto de leydis, ut ei in mentem Verba venere Anno dni Millessimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, sextadecima die mensis Aprilis.

At the end of the other treatise is *Gerardus Leeu impressit*, but no mention of the time when, or the place where printed.

Others who have supposed this book to have been really printed in 1454, have been misled by mistaking the meaning of the word 'editi,' in regard to which, Palmer, (in his History of Printing) observes from M. de la Monnoye, that the phrase of 'libri editi' was used long before the invention of printing, and signified only books published and dispersed abroad, in some considerable number, in opposition to those that were written fair to be set up in libraries, which were called 'libri scripti.' This observation he proves by a quotation from Philelphus, who, speaking of his ten books of Latin Odes (of which the first five were not sent to the press until the year 1497) expresses himself as follows: 'Carminum libri editi quinque versuum quinque millibus: nam alteri quinque qui tantundem versus complectentur partim scripti sunt, non editi, partim ne scripti quidem.' And, upon looking into the classic authors, I find that phrase so frequently occurring, that to the above testimony I could, if necessary, add many more, but as the recital of them would be tiresome to the reader, I shall only just mention the following: Nam aliquid est hoc tempore edendum. Plin. Epist. L. i. Ep. 2. Ut annales suos emendem et edam. Cic. Att. ii. 16. Ne præcipitetur editio. Quintil. ad bibliopolam.

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Palmer observes further, that the custom of putting the dates of printed books at the end of them was taken up in imitation of many of the manuscripts of the middle age, and that, as many of these dates have been printed verbatim from the manuscripts, gentlemen should be cautious least they be led into error by them, and not, from the obscurity of the subscription, take them for the time of the impression.

That learned antiquary, Mr. Strype, was, as Dr. Middleton observes, led into such an error concerning a piece of rhetoric, written by Laurentius Gulielmus de Saona, and printed at St. Alban's, in 1480, which he imagined, from the words 'Compilatum in Universitate Cantabrigiae 1478,' to have been printed at that time, and in that university. So the first edition of the Stypnerotomachia Poliphili, printed at Venice, by Aldus in 1499, has been supposed to be printed at Treviso in 1467, on account of these words in it: 'Tarvisii, cum decorissimis Poliæ amore lorulis distineretur misellus Poliphilus. M.CCCC.LXVII. Kalendis Maii.' This has been mistaken by many* for the year when the book was printed, whereas the words only shew the time when it was finished by its author Francisco Colonna. If any should doubt this assertion, I refer them to the learned Mr. Maittaire, in his Typographical Annals, and to Orlandi in his Origine e Progressi della Stampa, or rather to the book itself, when it can be met with, being very scarce; there is a leaf at the end, containing the errata, and concluding thus, Venetiis mense Decembris MID. (in ædibus Aldi Manutii accuratissimé.)

If the book under consideration was not printed so early as 1454, it may now perhaps be expected that I should shew when it was; to this I can only say, that it is not possible to point out the very year of its impression, the book itself having no date; a circumstance common in many of the works of those who printed towards the close of the fifteenth century; it is a short thin folio, and not a quarto, as by mistake it is called in Mr. Calamy's catalogue; the leaves are not paged, but have the signatures, or letters of the alphabet, placed at the bottom of the page, for the direction of the binder, an improvement not practised at soonest before the year 1470. Gerard de Leeu, from whose press it came, is well known to have printed at Gouda from

* See Catalogus Bibliothecæ Meadianæ, p. 174, and in several other catalogues, not drawn up by booksellers, but by men of learning.

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1473* to 1480, and then removed to Antwerp, where he followed his business till the year 1491.

From what is here said, I hope it will appear to the satisfaction of every one, that although this book has so early a date, yet that it is not that of its impression, but of the publication when in manuscript.

I have thought proper to make these observations, in order to prevent the unwary from being deceived by a date ill understood: it is with deference that I submit them to the learned, and in particular to the candour of such gentlemen as have studied the antiquities of the art of printing, the invention of which has proved so beneficial to mankind.

April 30, 1759. PHILARCHAIOS.

1759, *July*.

XLVII. Vindication of the Honour of Yeomanry.

THE title Yeoman is generally in no esteem, because its worth is not known. A yeoman that is authentically such, is by his title, on a level with an esquire. All the difference is, that one hath precedence of the other, as a marquis hath precedence of an earl, and that one is of Norman, and the other of Old English derivation. The title yeoman is of military origin, as well as that of esquire, and other titles of honour. Esquires were so called, because in combat they carried for defence an ecu, or shield; and yeomen were so stiled, because, besides the weapons proper for close engagement, they fought with arrows and the bow, which was made of yew, a tree that hath more repelling force and elasticity than any other.

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* Jo. Christ. Seiz, says 1472, but notwithstanding that, he gives the title of a book pretended to be printed by him that year, yet there is great reason to doubt of it, as it is mentioned by no other author, nor does he say, either that he saw it himself, or in whose library it was to be found; and besides, that his blind partiality to Holland has led him into so many mistakes in his Historical Narrative of the Invention of Printing, which is little more than a revival of the old legend of Hadrian Junius, and so stuffed with forgeries and calumnies, tending to deprive both Gottenberg and Fust of the honour of being the first inventors of the art of printing, the æra of which he carries as far back as the year 1428, attributing it, without the least foundation to one Laurens Jansz, surnamed Koster of Haerlem, that it may be safely said he is not to be relied on.

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The name *bow* seems to be derived from *yew*, or *yew* from *bow* as *Walter* is derived from *Gauter*, *Wales* from *Gales; Gascogne* was pronounced *Vascogne*, and *vivere* was pronounced *bibere*, by the people of that province. The proper name Eboracum, York, is an instance that the ancients in transferring words from one language or dialect into another, sometimes changed y into b, or b into y; for by leaving out the E in Eboracum, which is done in several other words, as in *especial, special; evacuate, vacuate; estate, state; example, sample; exchange, change; engrave, grave;* and then changing the b into y, the word is *Yoracum*, its exact etymology. The participle *given* was in Old English written and pronounced *youen*, and *Guillaume*, or *William* is sometimes written and pronounced *Billy:* another instance, that the letters *y*, *g*, and *w*, were sometimes, in the derivation of dialects one from the other, changed into *b*. It is probable, that Guild in *Guild* or *Yuild* hall, hath, in the same manner, a relation with the word *build*, or *building;* those public buildings being so named formerly as either house of parliament is now, sometimes by way of pre-eminence, called "the house." Many other instances may occur in reading old authors, in proof of this etymological assertion. What I have said is sufficient to prove that yeoman is originally a military title, derived from the kind of weapons with which they fought in ancient times. That bows were made of yew is certain; in modern poetry a bow is sometimes expressed by the word yew, as in Dryden's translation of the Æneid, Book 9.

> At the full stretch of both his hands he drew,
> And almost join'd the horns of the tough eugh.

These verses the poet animadverts as energetical and forceful, the very sound expressing the efforts of a bowman that is struggling with his bow.

After the conquest the name of *yeomen*, as to their original office in war, was changed to that of *archers*. Yeomen of the crown had formerly considerable grants bestowed on them. In the fifth century "Richard Leden, yeoman of the croune, had (by a royal grant) the office of keeping of the parke called Middle-parke, in the county of Hertforde.' About the same time, John Forde, yeoman of the croune, had the moytie of all rents of the town and hundred of Shaftsbury;' and 'Nicholas Wortley, yeoman of the chambre, was made baillieffe of the lordships of Scaresdale and Chesterfelde, within the county of Derby;" all which

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prove, that the title of yeoman was accounted honourable not only in remote antiquity, but in later ages.

Though there were in all times yeomen to attend the persons of our kings, yet the company of those now called yeomen of the guard, is of later date, being instituted by Henry VII. whereby he did more dishonour than honour to the title of yeoman, because he did not allow them a salary suitable to their office and title.

Yeomen, at least those that frequent palaces, should have their education in some academy, college, or university, in the army, or at court, or a private education that would be equivalent. Then our Latin writers would be no longer so grossly mistaken as to their notion in this respect. In Littleton's dictionary, and I believe in all our other Latin dictionaries, yeomanry is latinised *plebs*, and yeoman, *rusticus*, *paganus*, *colonus*. The expressions *yeomen of the crown*, *yeomen of the chamber*, *yeomen of the guard*, *yeoman usher*, shew the impropriety of this translation; for thereby it is plain, that yeomen originally frequented courts, and followed the profession of arms. Yeomen of the crown were so called, either because they were obliged to attend the king's person at court and in the field, or because they held lands from the crown, or both.

Our Latinists are also mistaken as to the true Latin term for *esquire*; it should be *scutarius*, so it is translated by foreigners, or *scutifer*; so I find it in an order of K. Edward I. to the high sheriff of the county of York, requiring 'ut omnes in baliva sua milites, scutiferos, &c. præmuniri faciat ad proficiscendum, &c.' *Escuage* is translated even now *scutagium*. The title *armiger*, which is confounded with that of *scutarius*, is the proper Latin for a *yeoman*.

In ancient times, kings, chiefs, and all princely knights were attended by esquires and yeomen, that were so stiled by virtue of their office. In battle, while the king, prince, or chief knight, was occupied in arranging the army, or battalion, and conducting the engagement, the office of the esquires of the body was to defend his person in case of a personal attack, for which purpose they bore shields; and that of the yeomen was to encounter the enemy, for which they were armed with the most proper offensive weapons; whence the Latin of the first is *scutarius*, as foreigners agree, and of the latter, *armiger*, as reason sheweth. I cannot aver, that the offices of esquires and yeomen were thus categorically distinguished; but it seems certain, that yeomen had much the same honours and offices

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before the Norman line of our kings, that the esquires had after.

I must own, indeed, the title of yeoman is now pretty much disregarded, because our gentry, by reason that the English tongue is not so universal as that of our next neighbours, prefer titles derived from their language. Moreover after the conquest, the Roman dialect was introduced, and used for many ages at court and at the bar. If some of our gentry of rank and fortune would agree to be stiled by no other than that genuine English title, it would soon appear in another light. When statutes are deficient, lawyers have recourse to ancient customs, general practices, precedent reports, authorised maxims, and evident conclusions, to decide cases at law. Customs and maxims generally approved of were entirely kept in remembrance by some poetical expressions; the title of yeoman is therefore much more considerable than is generally imagined, since it is said,

A Spanish Don, a German Count, and a French Marquis,
A Yeoman of Kent is worth them all three.

This adagium may be of modern date, and may regard wealth only, but it can be also adapted to honours; for formerly the titles *yeoman of the crown*, *yeoman of the chamber*, and now the title *yeoman usher*, is in as much honour with us, as *don*, *count*, and *marquis*, are in their respective nations; for they are given not only to the higher nobility, but also to the gentry or chief commoners. Wherefore, to argue syllogistically, according to the mode of Aristotle and his adherents, who were undoubtedly the best logicians in the schools of Athens, though the worst natural philosophers, or rather they hardly set up for natural philosophy; let us say,

Yeomen are on a level with dons, counts, and marquisses;
Dons, counts, and marquisses are on a level with esquires;
Therefore, yeomen are on a level with esquires.

These arguments are, methinks, sufficient to revive the splendour of yeomanry in honour of Old England and the English name; yet I must observe, that it should never be more esteemed than in the present age, because it never was more gloriously signalized; it should not therefore become too common, and it is better to be a great yeoman, than a little esquire.

1759, *Sept.*

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XLVIII. On the word BUMPER.—Grace Cups.

Mr. URBAN,

THE jolly toper is so fond of the thing we call a bumper, that he troubles not himself about the name, and so long as the liquor is but fine and clear, cares not a farthing in how deep an obscurity the etymology is involved. The sober antiquarian, on the contrary, being prone to etymology, contemplates the sparkling contents of a full glass with much less delight, than he does the meaning, the occasion, and the original of the name. I, sir, who profess myself to be one of the latter tribe, am for discarding the vulgar original of the name, and for substituting something more plausible in its place. The common opinion (I call it the common opinion, because I have heard it from so many) is, that the bumper took its name from the grace-cup; our Roman Catholic ancestors, say they, after their meals, always drinking the Pope's health, in this form "au bon Pere." But there are great objections to this; as first, the Pope was not the *bon Pere*, but the *saint Pere*, amongst the elder inhabitants of this kingdom, the attribute of sanctity being in a manner appropriated to the Pope of Rome, and his see. Again, the grace cup, which went round of course, after every repast, did not imply any thing extraordinary or a full glass. Then 3dly, let us consider a little the nature of the grace cup. Drinking glasses were not in use, at the time here supposed, for the grace cup was a large vessel, proportioned to the number of the society, which went round the table, the guests drinking out of the same cup one after another; Virgil describes something like it, when speaking of the entertainment Queen Dido gave to Æneas, he says,

> Postquam prima quies epulis, mensæque remotæ;
> Crateras magnos statuunt, et vina coronant.
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
> Implevitque mero pateram * * *
> * * * * * * * * * *
> Primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore.
> Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit
> Spumantem pateram, et pleno se proluit auro.
> Post alii proceres.

The feast was ended, the cup went round after it, and the health was, That Jupiter would shower down his

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blessings, and that peace and concord might reign between the parties, the Trojans and Tyrians; which leads me to remark, 4thly, and lastly, that there is no proof of the fact, that the grace cup was the Pope's health. At St. John's College, Cambridge, the president, or his locum tenens, gave the "old house," meaning prosperity to the college. But then this, it may be said, was since the reformation, therefore, to go higher, at Mr. Newman's of Westbere, near Canterbury, in Kent, I saw the grace cup of John Foch, alias Essex, the last Abbot of St. Austin's, Canterbury, and my ever valuable friend, Dr. George Lynch, was pleased afterwards, with Mr. Newman's leave, to make me a present of a very neat drawing of it, which now I have by me. It was mounted with silver gilt, much in the manner as the shells of cocoa nuts commonly are, and was very neat. Foch, the abbot, was a man of note in his time, as likewise afterwards, as appears from John Twyne's Commentary *de Rebus Albionicis*, in which piece he is the principal interlocutor. Mrs. Newman was a Foch, of the same family, and by that means the cup came to Mr. Newman. Now, the inscription round the neck of this cup, in old letters of the time, is this,

welcome zé be
dryng for charite.

This cup is too small to be a vessel employed in the common refectory of that large foundation, and probably was only used in the abbot's own apartment. But now, if the Pope's health was not usually drank after dinner, by the religious societies, and I think there is no proof it ever was, we can much less expect it should go round in those jovial meetings of the laity, where bumpers were introduced.

For these reasons, Mr. Urban, I am for looking out for a different original; and, in the first place, the word is of no great antiquity, but on the contrary rather modern, for it occurs not either in Littleton's Dictionary, or Cotgrave; I should think it might be the French *bon verre*, which is a genuine French phrase, as may be seen in Boyer; and certainly, B, P, and V, being letters of the same organ, are easily changed one for another. But if this does not please, I would observe next, that in some of the midland counties, any thing large is called a bumper, as a large apple, or pear; hence, bumping lass, is a large girl of her age, and a bumpkin is a large limbed uncivilized rustic; the idea of grossness and size, entering the character of a country

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bumpkin, as well as that of an unpolished rudeness. Mr. Johnson, in his dictionary, I observe, deduces the word bumper from bump. But what if it should be a corruption of *bumbard*, or *bombard*, in Latin *bombardus*, a great gun; and from thence applied to a large flaggon, black jack, or a full glass? Thus the lord chamberlain says to the porters, who had been negligent in keeping out the mob,

> You are lazy knaves:
> And here ye lie baiting of bumbards, when
> Ye should do service.
>
> *Shakes.* H. VIII. A. v. Sc. 3.

Baiting of bumbards, is a cant term for sotting and drinking, which Nash, in his Supplication to the Devil, p. 44. calls by a like metaphor, beer-baiting. So Shakespear again, "yond same black cloud, yond huge one, looks like a foul bumbard that would shed his liquor." Tempest, A. ii. Sc. 2. where Mr. Theobald rightly explains it a large vessel for holding drink, as well as the piece of ordnance so called. P and B, as I said, being so similar, bumbard would easily be turned into bumper. However, Mr. Urban, I should prefer any one of these etymologies to that of *au bon Pere*, but which of the three to chuse I am uncertain, and therefore am very willing to leave it to Squire Jones to take which he likes best; and, if he approves of none of them, the liquor I hope, and the quantity, may still please.

Yours, &c.

1759, *June.* PAUL GEMSEGE.

XLIX. On the Word Culprit.

SIR EDW. COKE says, our books of reports and statutes in ancient time, were written in French, and observes the difference betwixt the writing and pronouncing that language; also, that the legal sense ought not to be changed. I believe there is not any word in any language more corrupted or applied with greater impropriety than the word Culprit.

After indictment read against the prisoner at the bar, he is asked whether he is guilty or not guilty of the indictment; if he answers not guilty, the clerk of the arraign-

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ments replies *culprit*, which it is said is from *cul prist*, and *culprist* from *culpabilis* and *presto*, and signifies *guilty already*. What! are our laws so severe, or their procedure so preposterous as to declare a person guilty because he hath pleaded not guilty, and before the prosecutors are called on their recognizances to give evidence, and afterwards to ask him how he will be tried?

Etymologies are a necessary part of grammar; by them we arrive at the primary signification of terms, but if far fetched they become ridiculous. How many, Dalton and Burn not excepted, have tortured themselves with the word culprit, a plain corruption from the French *qu'il paroit?* The officer of the court says to the prisoner, guilty or not guilty? If the prisoner says guilty, his confession is recorded; if he answers not guilty? the officer says *culprit*, whereas he ought to say *qu'il paroit*; i. e. make it appear, or let it appear if thou art not guilty. *Culprit* is evidently a corruption of *qu'il paroit*, which is pure French, and bids the prisoner plead for himself, and make his innocence appear. *Culprit* hath manifestly changed the legal sense or true reading, and a false one, which ought to be exploded, hath been admitted. Common reason, common humanity, and similarity of sound evince this.

M. N.

Mr. URBAN,

I have read in your last Magazine M. N's. account of the term Culprit. I cannot help thinking that gentleman as much out in his conjecture, as Dalton, Burn, or those whom, he says, have tortured themselves about its etymology. I think its derivation very obvious: *Cul prist* taken by the tail or skirts from *cul* and *prendre* two French words, and might be a very just definition of a delinquent before he had been imprisoned: or perhaps it might signify one caught in the fact.—The term being I presume not applied to debtors. It perhaps came first in use before imprisonment was so much practised, or when all crimes or misdemeanors were immediately tried before judges appointed for the purpose, in all which senses the term is most proper and significant.

Your constant reader,

R. J.

[Another correspondent has suggested, that the word might originally have been *culp-prist*, that is, taken (sup-

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posed or suspected) to be guilty, and in this sense it is an appellation extremely proper for a person who has been accused, and is about to put himself on his trial.]

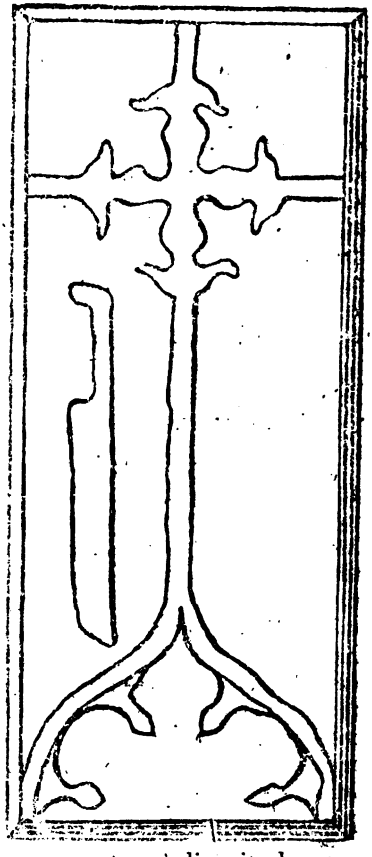
1759, *June and July.*

L. Stone Coffin discovered at Litchfield.

Litchfield, Jan. 13.

MR. URBAN,

ON the 10th of October last, as some workmen were removing the soil near the north door of the great cross isle of our cathedral church, at the depth of little more than three feet, they discovered a tomb-stone, of an uncommon size, being near fifteen inches thick, upon which is rudely engraved a Calvary cross, having a falchion on the dexter side, with its pummel erect. Upon displacing the stone, (though not exactly underneath it) a coffin, of a different kind of stone, with a lid cemented with mortar, was discoverable, and placed due east and west. Within the coffin was to be seen the remains of a human skeleton: the scull, the leg and thigh bones, and the vertebræ of the back were pretty entire, but the rest were mouldered into dust. The scull reclined towards the right shoulder the arms were a-cross; but every part was disunited.



As the basis of the cross *(see the cut)* is different from most I have seen, I should be glad to hear the sentiments of some of your correspondents upon that head, as well as to be informed, whether the falchion does not denote the deceased to have been a warrior.

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As our dean and chapter have lately removed a building which obstructed a near approach to the north side of the cathedral, and foreshortened the prospect; and are now levelling the ground, and laying it out in a more commodious manner, I am in hopes that something more of this sort may be discovered. If this should happen to be the case, you may expect to hear again from, Sir,

Yours, &c.

RICHARD GREEN.

To Mr. Richard Green of Litchfield.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH I can say but little, I fear, to your satisfaction, on the points you propose for discussion, to wit, the figure of the cross upon that ancient tomb stone, &c. yet I am always very desirous of giving you every testimony of my regard; and shall accordingly select some matters, relative to the discovery lately made at Litchfield, which I hope may not prove entirely disagreeable, and of which I therefore beg your acceptance.

A question may be started, whether the tombstone, and the stone coffin belong to one and the same person, since the coffin did not lie exactly under the stone; but I think we may acquiesce in the affirmative, as they are things perfectly consistent one with another, and that a small displacing of the tombstone might happen from various causes.

The person interred, whoever he was, was strongly immured, or rather oppressed with stone,

—— Tenet hic immania Saxa,

but I doubt this circumstance will not enable us to discover who he was; and, indeed, the coffin brings with it so few data from the shades, that, in my opinion, nothing certain can be known, either as to the person, or the time of interment.

It appears to me, from the great number of stone-coffins,* found in this kingdom, that formerly all persons of rank and dignity, of fortune and fashion, were buried in that manner.

The Sarcophagus, which is a Greek word, but adopted by the Latins, and signifies a coffin or a grave, has its name from a certain property which the stone is said to have had,

* At Chesterfield, and Dronfield, in Derbyshire; at Notgrove, in Glocestershire. See also Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamshire, p. 456. Camden's Britannia, p. 508, 588, 725. Dugdale's Monasticon, Tom. ii. p. 124. Somner's appendix No. xxxviii. Weaver's funeral Mon. p. 202. Drake's Eboracum, p. 420, &c

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of consuming the dead body in a few days;* but without visiting the ancient Greeks and Romans, I shall shew, which is more to the purpose, that this was the custom amongst our Saxon ancestors; the number of the coffins found, is itself no inconsiderable proof of it; but there is a clear instance in Ven. Bede, who, speaking of Queen Ædylthryd, or St. Awdry, that died of the pestilence in the year 669, says, she was buried, by her express command, by or near the other persons of the monastery, whereof she was abbess, according to the order of her death, and in a wooden coffin, 'et æque, ut ipsa jusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum, juxta ordinem quo transierat, ligneo in locello sepulta.'† This implies, that otherwise, a person of her high birth, and great dignity, would have been buried in a coffin of stone. This inference is undoubtedly just, for it follows after, in the same author, that her sister Sexburg, who succeeded her as abbess, after she had lain in her grave 16 years, caused her bones to be taken up, put into a new coffin, and translated to a place in the church. 'Jussitque quosdam fratres quærere LAPIDEM, de quo LOCELLVM in hoc facere possent: qui ascensa navi, — venerunt ad civitatulam quandam desolatam, — et mox invenerunt juxta muros civitatis LOCELLVM de MARMORE ALBO pulcherrime factum, operculo quoque similis LAPIDIS aptissime tectum,' &c.

Let this then suffice for the antiquity of these stone coffins in this island. As to more modern times, the use of them continued it seems as late as the reign of Henry III. for William Furnival, who flourished at that time, was buried in a stone coffin, and tells us of your Litchfield prelate and saint, as we find in Dr. Thornton's Nottinghamshire, p. 456, and Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon, Tom. ii. p. 926. The metrical epitaph, being misreported, though by both those authors, I shall here recite it, with the proper corrections.

Me memorans psalle, simili curris quia calle,
De Fournivalle pro Willelmo, rogo, psalle.

But, in some cases, the custom continued as long as Henry VIII's time, as appears from Brown Willis's Cathedrals Vol. ii. p. 59.

But how comes this coffin, you will ask, to be without the church, and on the north side of it? It is true that, according to our present usage, few people are buried in our ordi-

* Pliny N. H. Lib. xxxvi. c. xvii. † Beda iv. c. xix.

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nary parochial church yards, on the north side of the church. But in cities and towns, you are sensible, it is otherwise, and I suppose I need not give instances to you. As to the other particular, the coffin's lying without the fabric, I imagine it never was within it; for when Roger Clinton, bishop of Litchfield, about the year 1148, erected your present neat and elegant cathedral, he certainly did not contract, but rather enlarged the dimensions of the old foundation. Until the time of Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, whose pontificate began A. D. 740, and ended in 748, the custom of burying within the precincts of towns and cities did not prevail here.* But it was not till towards the Norman conquest, that persons, how great soever, were buried in churches, unless it happened that they were removed thither on account of their extraordinary sanctity, and in order to be reputed and worshipped as saints. Thus St. Awdry above, was translated into the church by her sister; and Bede tells us of your Litchfield prelate, St. Chad, 'Sepultus est primo quidem juxta ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ; sed postmodum constructa ibidem ecclesia beatissimi apostolorum principis Petri, in eandem sunt ejus ossa translata,†' and this is very agreeable to that canon of King Edgar, 'docemus etiam ut in ecclesia nemo sepeliatur, nisi sciatur quod in vita deo bene placuerit, ut inde judicetur, quod sit tali sepultura dignus.'‡

The steps by which we came to bury in churches so generally, as now we do, a custom which almost every body complains of, and nobody cares to rectify, appear to me to be these. Persons of an extraordinary reputed sanctity were first placed there, as in the cases of St Awdry, and St. Chad. Founders, and patrons, and other great names, began then to creep as near as they could to the fabric, and so were laid in the porch §; (and it is observable, that the stone coffin we are speaking of, was found lying very near the north door of the great cross) or in the entry of the cloysters, ‖ or in the cloyster itself before the chapter house door, ‖ or in the chapter house, ‖ or in the sacristy. ‖ Sometimes the bodies were reposited in the wall, first on the outside, a very notable instance of which as I remember,

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* Matth. Parker's Antiq. p. 91. Staveley's Hist. of Churches, p. 26.
† Beda, lib. iv. c. 3.
‡ Wilkins's Concil. p. 227.
§ Staveley's Hist. of Churches, p 261. 262. 263. Somn. Antiq. Cant p. 117.
‖ Dugd. Monast. con, i. p. 126. 127.

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you have at your church at Litchfield, and then in the inside of the wall*. In process of time, they began to erect isles, and to bury and establish chantries in them; after which they made free with the body of the church; and lastly, but I think chiefly since the reformation, except in the cases of sanctity abovementioned, they had recourse to the chancel.

It appears from this short state of affairs, that the bones found in the stone coffin in question, must be those of some person of considerable note, that flourished some time after the year 748, but probably not till some short time after the Norman conquest, as I judge, from the form of the arch, on which the cross is erected, which is mitred, after the manner of the Normans. As to the figure of the cross, nothing precise can be determined from thence; for to say nothing of the heralds, who have varied the forms of crosses immensely, one sees them in shapes, infinitely various, upon tombstones.

We will say then, upon the footing of probability, that this person might be interred about 1170, but as to who he was, we are entirely at a loss.

On the lid or cover of the coffin, in your draught, there is the representation of a falchion, or some such instrument. Now Bede tells us, that one Ouini, a lay-brother, resided with the other Monks at St. Chad's monastery at Stowe, and was the person that heard the miraculous celestial music that presaged the death of that prelate; that Ouini was an illiterate man, not qualified for the study of the scriptures, though he was a person of note and great worth: and when he retired to a monastery, upon his leaving the world, he came 'simplici tantum habitu indutus, et securim atque asciam in manu ferens,' to Læstigaeu, 'non enim ad otium, ut quidam, sed ad laboremse monasterium intrare significabat.' From Læstigaeu he came to Stowe, where I presume he died. Certainly, the instrument expressed upon the cover of the coffin, would be proper enough to denote this person, but he cannot be the party that was interred here, because in all probability he did not long overlive the year 672, which was the time of St. Chad's death, and at that time, our ancestors did not bury in towns, so that the times and circumstances do not at all accord.

Amongst the Romans, the Ascia was very frequently put upon urns and altars, and the figure of it is very various; this circumstance of the Ascia placed upon monuments of

* Somner's Antiq of Canterb. p. 127. Drake's Eborac. p. 421.

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this kind, has occasioned a very puzzling problem to the antiquaries; Montfaucon himself does not pretend to decide amongst them. But you shall hear his account; he says, that "towards Lyons, and in other provinces of France, at Rome, and at Mayence, sepulchres have been found where there's a certain kind of Hatchet, or Ascia, represented with this inscription, *sub Ascia dedicavit*, sometimes thus written at length, and sometimes with the first letters only, S. A. S. D. There are also some monuments where the Hatchet is exhibited without any inscription. There is a very great variety observable in the shape of these Ascia. —The question why an instrument of this kind should be represented on monuments, and why sepulchres should thus be dedicated *sub Ascia, under the hatchet*, is not easily answered, nor do I see that any reason can be assigned for such a custom.—But how difficult soever it be to find the meaning of it, a great many have nevertheless attempted it, though I think without success, none having yet hit upon it, [here he reports the groundless conjectures of M. Chorier and Fabretti, and concludes] in short, among all the explications that I have seen there is not one satisfactory; nor indeed do I think any such will ever be hit upon, until we have more light afforded us from some new discovered inscription.*" I shall not pretend to meddle with this difficult question, neither dare I presume to say, that the instrument on your cover is the Ascia; for the exhibition of the Ascia was a Pagan custom, whereas, the cross plainly shews, that the person here interred was a Christian; and perhaps as you conjecture, a warrior; for I do not think he was a prelate, it being the custom in these early times to inter bishops in their Pontificalibus, of which the ring and crosier were a part, substances which are not very liable to waste. This custom relative to the prelates, I infer from a passage in Dugd. Mon. iii. p. 220. where it is remarked, that Richard Pecke, bishop of Litchfield, was buried in the convent of St. Thomas, at Stafford, in his habit of a regular canon, whereupon it immediately follows 'NAM allata sunt pontificalia ejus per G. Pecke, consanguineum suum, monachum apud Coventriam, sicut ipse episcopus disposuerat.' But what is very material, there was no prelate buried at Litchfield, about this time.

You see, Sir, we are involved in the thickest darkness, in regard to the person interred, and what is worse, we are

* Montf. P. I. B. III. c. 5.

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likely to continue so. For whereas you take notice, that the bones of the skeleton found within the coffin were disunited: this, sir, I think, is what might well be expected after the corpse had laid so long a time; for the order of the consumption of dead bodies, I suppose to be this, first the bowels, muscles, and skin; then the sinews and ligaments; and at last the cartilages and bones. The time required for the dissolution and corruption of a dead body, I look upon to be very uncertain, because it will depend very much on the nature of the strata, wherein the corpse shall happen to be laid. And since none, in the long run, except forsooth the bodies of saints, are exempt from this corruption, it is clear, that the person here interred, there being nothing of him remaining but a few of his bones, could be no saint, which is all the certainty, we are able to arrive at, in regard to this discovery.

I am,

Yours, &c.

1759, *Jan and Feb.* PAUL GEMSEGE.

LI. Account of a scarce Gold Coin supposed to be Saxon.

To the Rev. Dr. John Taylor, L. L. D. Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln.

Dear Sir,

THAT very general and extensive knowledge you are confessedly master of, prevents you from being a stranger to the violent prejudice our antiquaries have conceived against the existence of coined gold amongst the Anglo-Saxons, I mean of their own fabrication; you are well aware at the same time of the force of the prejudice, and of the difficulty one commonly meets with in extirpating it; however this is the principal intention of The Series of Dissertations*, &c. which, could I impute nothing to your friendship, and yet I am not without vanity on that head, I dare say your curiosity would induce you to peruse.

The prepossession I am speaking of, began as early as the day's of Camden†, which is as much as to say, is as old as

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* Dissertations on some Anglo-Saxon Remains. By Samuel Pegge, M. A.

† Camden's Remains, in the Chapter of money.

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the very commencement of the study of our English antiquities; and having been, as I think, almost universally * propagated by our authors engaged in this subject, it is become in a manner inveterate. But let us examine, if you please, a little into the merits of it. No Saxon coins, say they, in this rich metal have ever appeared; but you will think this a very weak argument in the case before us, if you reflect on what Mr. Thoresby says in relation to the Sticas, namely, that the three in his collection were all that were known at Oxford so lately as the Latin edition of King Ælfred's life in 1678†; and it is certain that till the year 1695, when a nest of Sticas was discovered at Rippon, in Yorkshire, the Saxon money in copper was extremely scarce. The same gentleman also testifies, in regard to the pennies of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, that they were so very rare in his time, though now so plentiful that there is hardly any collection but what will exhibit you half a dozen of them, that with the utmost diligence he could but procure one of either king till A. D. 1703, when a fire happening at York, occasioned the finding a box which contained 250 of them. It was some time before the learned antiquaries would believe there were any such pieces as groats of K. Edward I. and yet now they are fully convinced of it. And as to gold coins in particular, those of Livius Severus are exceeding rare in this kingdom; and those of Allectus every where. The late earl of Pembroke, at the suggestion of Mr. Folkes, thought proper to purchase the gold Allectus in Lord Oxford's catalogue. The same I presume which is engraved in the Pembrochian tables, Part I. plate 38. and Mr. Folkes being commissioned by his lordship to bid for it, gave no less, as I have been told, than 60 guineas for it. But what is most to the present purpose, King Henry III. coined some gold, and yet I cannot learn that any of the pieces have yet appeared. Mr. Leake indeed seems to doubt the fact, but there is no room for that; since, besides the manuscript chronicle of the city of London, by him cited, the words of the record in the Tower, if my copy be right, (and it came from the late Mr. Holmes) asserts it most expressly.

"Rot. claus. Anno 41 Rs. Hen. 3. m. 3. de moneta aurea, mandatum est majori et vicecomitibus London quod clamari

* Dr. Plot and Mr. Walker may perhaps be excepted; see Dissert. 4 in the Series of Dissertations.

† Thoresby's Museum, p. 340.

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faciant in civitate predicta quod moneta regis aurea quam rex fieri facit de cetero currat tam in civitate predicta quam alibi per regnum anglie tam ad emptiones quam ad venditiones faciendas, viz. quilibet denarius pro xx denarjis Sterlingorum. Et quod moneta regis argentea currat similiter sicut currere consuevit. T. R. apud Cestriam XVI. die Augusti. Per Consilium Regis.

It is here positively declared that the king had caused some gold money to be made, which was to pass for twenty-pence (not twenty shillings, as is said in the notes on Rapin), and yet no specimen of this money has been hitherto produced.

The [illegible] would make of these histories, is to shew the unreasonableness and inconclusiveness of the prejudice in question. It is likewise the probability, after what has been said in the Series of Dissertations, of the Saxons having struck some gold, though so few of their pieces in that metal have as yet come down to us.

But perhaps you may here ask what can be the occasion of the Saxon gold coins being so scarce? The probable cause of this, I take to be, the scarcity of gold bullion amongst them. For as this island produced none itself, and our foreign trade in those times was but small, very little uncoined gold, I conceive, was imported into the kingdom. Besides provisions and other necessaries, were then so cheap, that there was little occasion for gold in the course of people's traffic one amongst another; consequently this species of coin being but little wanted for the purpose of commerce, there was the less necessity for the striking of any great quantity of it. These now were plausible causes of scarcity, and yet not such as to exclude the coinage of gold in some small portions, which is all that is asserted in the Series of Dissertations.

So much in regard to popular prejudice: you would observe, Sir, that in the preface to the Series of Dissertations I mentioned a gold coin of my own which I imagined might be an Anglo-Saxon, and I dare say you would wonder that I caused it not to be engraved on that occasion. That, Sir, I did not think proper to do, because, though I was sufficiently satisfied myself, from the appearance of it, that it was a Saxon; yet, to say the truth, I could not at that time make out the reverse of it so clearly as I could wish; but it has happened since then, by a very particular good fortune, that my friend Mr. White, to whom the second dissertation in the Series is addressed, sent me down a gold coin, which proved to be a duplicate to mine, and though imper-

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fect in the legend of the reverse, as mine was, yet the imperfection being in a different part, the two coins both together furnish out a complete legend. The reading is evidently DVITA MONE, that is, Duita Monetarius, and this I think a confirmation of the piece being a real Anglo-Saxon.

V at that time had the power of W, and you are sensible that dw and tw are the initial letters of many Saxon words; and that they should be so in proper names is certainly very analogous; probably the modern name of *Dwight* is no other than this Saxon one DVITA: but however that be, DVITA has the appearance of a genuine Saxon name, the first syllable of which occurs in that of Duina, one of the bishops of Rochester.* And as *Wina*, and *Duina* may be supposed to be the same name, so I apprehend *Witta* and *Duita* may be the same; and *Witta* is the name of the grandfather of Hengist†. The crosses upon these reverses are a good deal after the manner of the French, from whence one has reason to think, the moneyer chose to imitate the gold specie of that nation. This, sir, is all I shall trouble you with at this juncture, only you must give me leave to intreat you to accept in good part this public testimony of regard from your old and invariable friend,

S. PEGGE.

Whittington, June 12.
1756, *June.*

LII. On the Existence of Gold Coin previous to the reign of Edward III.

To Emanuel Mendez Da Costa, Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries.

SIR,

THE existence of coined gold, after the Norman æra, and previous to the reign of Edward III. as occasionally mentioned in the letter to Dr. Taylor, admits of so much further illustration, that the learned antiquary must be in-

* Tanner's Biblioth. p. 942, and the authors there quoted.
† Chron. Sax. p. 13.

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dispensably obliged to every gentleman that will contribute any thing to its perfect establishment. The fact rests at present upon the authority of the manuscript chronicle of the city of London, and the record in the Tower, both which methinks receive some confirmation from the nature of the florin struck by Edward III. for the florin at 6s. 8d. i. e. eighty-pence, stands in the same proportion to the gold penny of Henry III. which was to pass for twenty-pence, as the silver groat of Edward did to the silver penny. I propose not that gentlemen should lay a grain more weight upon this observation than what it will really bear; but certainly the following Jewish instrument, with which you have been pleased to favour me in an English dress, as I here give it, may demand their best attention, since it so perfectly accords with the other evidences above, and would perhaps be sufficient of itself, were it even destitute of their aid, to establish the point in question. But be that as it will, you will permit me, Sir, to intreat you to accept of this public acknowledgment, together with the remarks subjoined to the instrument (upon which I know you will put such a construction as is most consistent with friendship and candour) as the best return I can make for the obligation of this humane and seasonable communication.

I am, Yours, &c.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

The Instrument.

I, the undersigned, do hereby confess with final confession, that at any time there cometh my brother in law Rabby Aaron, the son of Rabby Judah, within fifteen days of Pentecost, in the forty-sixth year of the reign of our lord the king Henry the son of king John, and possess me in the house and yard, and the small house, the kitchen, and all that belongs to him that he has given me, by the bond of ærugraphy, in which bond is expressly mentioned with entire possession, and was made before the Rev. Dr. Hamelsar and the aldermen, then at the same time I did confess that I foregave and discharged him of all the debt of fourteen *jukn* that he owes me upon a bond of ærugraphy, from the creation of the world to the end thereof, and from all other

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debts that were made before Pentecost, as well those of my honoured father of pious memory, as those of my honoured mother who is still living, except that debt he owes me, as is declared in the bond of ærugraphy of the present that he made me of the said house against his heirs, and against any body that should come by his power, or by the assignment of his hand, and with good witness, that he the said Rabby Aaron cannot pretend to prove or quarrel against the witnesses or the pretension. And if there is no gift or pension of the king limited before the above-named Pentecost, it shall be prolonged for the term of fifteen days after any limited gift or pension of the king, and I do confess with a penalty of two *jaku*, to possess the said Rabby Aaron with all my might in the court, as is declared in the bond of sale that I made him in the bond office* for two *jaku* of gold, immediately after he has possessed me in the said house, and all what is due to him, and in presence of the Rev. Dr. Hamelsar and the aldermen, if he pleases to receive it from my hands, and this said fine is to our lord the king, and all the time that this bond is in his hand, and he does not put me in possession of it, as is declared above, I cannot neglect to give our lord the king two *jaku* of gold, and all is right and stedfast, and what I have confessed, I have signed.

Aaron, the son of Rabby Haim.

The Remarks.

The manuscript chronicle puts the gold coinage of Henry III. at the year 1258, which agrees perfectly with the record in the tower, which is dated 16th Aug. 41. H. III. for Henry acceded to the crown 19th Oct. 1216, and 16th Aug. in the 41st year of his reign, will consequently be in 1258. This instrument, in which *jaku* of gold are mentioned, is dated some years after the coinage, as one would expect.

But the question is, what were these *jaku* of gold? The word at first sight seems to be no other than the *French Ecu*; but then it does not appear that the *ecu* of gold was coined so soon as this. (See Mons. Le Blanc, p. 200.) Besides, as there is mention of *fourteen jaku* in the instrument,

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* Hebrew Ærugraphy.

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without the addition of gold, some sense of the word should be sought for, that will suit both with the silver and gold money of the time. And this, in my opinion, can be no other but the word *sterling*. But what connection is there between the word *jaku* and the word *sterling?* I answer, a very close one, if you consider the etymology of the two words. As to the latter, which I shall take first, our antiquaries are strangely perplexed even at this time, about its etymology and the first use of the term in this kingdom. (See Mr. Leake's Introduction, p. 20, et seq.) It first related to the standard or purity of the metal, and afterwards, by a *metonymy*, came to signify the piece or penny coined according to that standard. The original meaning then is that of *standard* or *alloy*. Now, though the word *sterling* does not occur, as is asserted, in *Domesday-book*, yet the thing called *standard* was evidently then known, as is plain from the expression *Libræ arsæ* which necessarily implies a standard. (See Spelman's Gl. v. Libra.) This author very rationally supposes, that at first money was altogether here in this kingdom paid by tale, as ours now is, and from thence a pound of such money was called *libra numerata*, and contained 240 pence.* But afterwards, when by reason of the number of mints, some pennies were made too light, and at the same time the iniquitous practice of clipping commenced, they began to *weigh*, and from thence came the terms of *libra pensa* and *libra pensata*. And lastly, when this provision would not do, but adulteration also began to take place, then they had recourse to the fire, from whence came the expression of *libra arsa*. *Gervase* of *Tilbury* indeed says, that this *trial by combustion* was first instituted by the bishop of Salisbury, Roger of Caen, temp. Henry I. when that prince had converted the eatable and corn *fermes* into pecuniary payments. But Spelman shews, by several passages out of the record of Domesday, where you have *libra arsa, ad arsuram*, and *arsurâ*, that it was used in the Conqueror's time, and consequently, that the bishop of Salisbury could only be the restorer of that method. What we call *standard*, you see, was well known at the time of the Conqueror's servey, and so, I dare say, was the term *sterling*, though it be not found in the record, for it not only denotes the thing, but is actually used by Ordericus Vitalis, an author born in the

* So we are to read in Spelman, and not 120.

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Conqueror's time, who has the expression of 15 Libr. Sterilensium, &c*.

By this method of arguing we may venture to advance one step further, and to pronounce that the Saxons had both the thing and word in their days. As to the thing, their silver is not only all allayed, but we have traces in the monuments of silver of different goodness being used. Thus in the tenth century Ednoth bought two hides of land for one hundred shillings *optimi argenti* †. A passage unquestionably indicating, that this people knew something of the fineness and coarseness of silver, and also did reduce their knowledge into practice. If then they were acquainted with the thing, we are in a manner obliged to believe they had a name for it, and since the word *steore* signifies *lex, canon, regula*, it is very natural, as Mr. Somner suggests ‡, to deduce the word *sterilensis* or *sterlingus*, (afterwards corrupted by the Normans according to the usage of their language, into *esterlingus*,) from thence, and to believe, that that was their term. And methinks all one can desire in a thing of this nature is, an agreement of fact and etymology.

Supposing then, for I now return to the matter in hand, that the word *sterling* primarily denoted the purity of the silver, the word *Jacu* comes exactly to the same sense; the root is *jakuk*, which in the Old Testament is used for *pure*; as for example, Jakuk, Zaab, or Keseph, is the best purified gold or silver. It has been observed above, that the word *sterling* came in process of time to signify the piece or penny, as well as the standard, and the case is the same with the word *jaku* in this instrument, where it evidently, according to my apprehension, must mean a sterling, or penny. Some may fancy, perhaps, that a *jaku* may possibly mean, not any certain piece of coined money, but some nominal term, as the *mark* for instance, and I think it

* The reason why it occurs not in Domesday-book probably was, that being a term of the mint, it was then chiefly confined to those offices, which, so far as I can discover from the names of the mint-masters, were managed in the reigns of the two Williams, by Saxon artificers. The record on the contrary was compiled in the several counties by commission, and the parties concerned, as one has reason to believe, would be for the most part Normans. However, there is no room to think this term was then so generally known, as it was afterwards.

† Histor. Ramesens, p. 415.

‡ G. Somneri Gloss. in X. Script.

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incumbent upon me, to obviate this objection; in relation to which I have to say, first that the *mark of gold* was not very common at this time, though perhaps there may be here and there an instance; and 2dly, that there is not the least connection between the word *jaku* and the word *mark* either in sense or orthography, one of which we have, no doubt, reason to expect. I conclude therefore upon the whole, that the *jaku* being no denomination, but the name of some coined piece of money, it can mean nothing else but the sterling or penny; *denarius* and *jaku* being used by the Jews of this age, just in the same manner as the Christians applied their words *denarius* and *sterlingus*, or *penny* and *sterling*; from whence it must follow necessarily, that the *jaku* of gold in this instrument must mean the gold pennies coined by King Henry III. and mentioned in the record of the 41st of his reign.

1756, *Oct.*

LIII. On the Octaves of Festivals.—Low-Sunday and Plough-Monday.

Mr. URBAN,

IN ancient time, before the Reformation, our greater festivals here in England (as I presume the case is now in Popish countries) had each of them their Octave, or eighth day. Of these Octaves or Utas, as they are often called, mention is frequently made in the law-books and glossaries, and though the word occurs not in our liturgy, yet we have certain vestiges of the thing amongst us, as in Low-Sunday (which is the octave of Easter-Day, and is so called in reference to it, that being the high or principal day of the feast, and this the lower or secondary one) and the proper prefaces in the Communion Office, which are directed to be used on the festival, and seven days after*. See Mr.

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* The preface for Whitsunday is to be used only six days after; but that is because the seventh day, or the octave, is absorbed in the great festival of Trinity-Sunday.

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Wheatley on those two places, as likewise Bishop Sparrow.* The former of these authors again, on the Sunday after Christmas-Day, when the same collect is used, writes thus: "It was a custom among the primitive Christians, to observe the octave, or eighth day, after their principal feasts, with great solemnity; and upon every day between the feast and the octave, as also upon the octave itself, they used to repeat some part of that service, which was performed upon the feast itself." See also Bishop Sparrow, p. 113, from whom it appears, that formerly the same collect was used on Low-Sunday as on Easter-Day; and though it has now a distinct collect, yet this relates as expressly to the resurrection as that on Easter-Sunday does.

If you will turn into the calendars prefixed to the Roman Missals and Breviaries, you will find many of the Festa Duplicia, or Higher Feasts, dignified with Octaves; see also Dr. Mareschal's Observations on the Saxon Gospels, p. 538.

Now the feast of the Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, is Festum Duplex in the calendars above cited, or an holyday of the first rank, and has there its octave, (as likewise it very anciently had†) which falls upon the 13th of January, or the 20th day after Christmas; and you will find, upon trial, that Christmas-Day, as the old saying in these northern parts imports, is one of the twenty days of festivity, supposing that feast to be kept till the octave of the Epiphany, and not one of the twelve, if you terminate the observation of it on the day of the Epiphany itself. Whereupon I observe, that the feast of the Nativity was anciently prolonged, in some respects, till the said twentieth day; the expression here under consideration clearly implies it; but this was the utmost extent; for the Plough-Monday, which is the Monday after the twelfth day, when the labour of the plough, and the other rustic

* You will find the first Sunday after Easter called Low-Sunday, not only by these authors, but also by Dr. Mareschal, in his Observations on the Saxon Gospels, p. 535, and in the common almanacks. In country parishes, where weekly communions are in a manner left off, there is still, in many places, a celebration of it on Low-Sunday, the octave of Easter-Day.

† Dr. Mareschal's Observation on Saxon Gospels, p. 528 and 533. Johnson's Collection of Canons, &c. Anno MCLXXV. sect. 14. N. B. Mr. Wheatley seems to doubt, whether the Apparition of our Lord, mentioned in this last author, means the Epiphany, or the Transfiguration: but it means the former, as is evident from comparing the beginning of the preface, Quia cum unigenitus tuus, in Dr. Wilkins's Councils, i. p. 478, with the Roman missal on the Epiphany, where you have a preface that begins so.

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toils begin, never is extended further than the twentieth day, nor can be, for, indeed, it can never extend so far, unless the twelfth day happen on a Monday. The feast of the Nativity, I say, was prolonged to the twentieth day in some respects, and I might have added with some persons, because the countryman generally returned to his labours before that day; to wit, on the Monday after the twelfth day, and that it was only with the better sort, who were more at leisure, and in respect of the church service, that the feast was extended to the twentieth day. The words of Bishop Sparrow are are so full to the purpose, on this point, that I shall recite them. "But when we say, that the church would have these high feasts continued so long, it is not so to be understood, as if she required an equal observance of those several days; for some of those days she commands by her canons and rubrics*, some she seems only to commend to us to be observed; some are of a higher festivity, some of less. The first and the last, namely the octave of the first, are usually the chief days for solemn assemblies; yet every one of those days should be spent in more than ordinary meditation of the blessings of the time, and thanksgiving for them: according to that which the Lord commanded to the Jews concerning the feast of tabernacles, Lev. xxiii. 36. Upon every one of the days of that feast an offering was to be made, but the first and last were the solemn convocations.†" You see clearly here the original of the octaves, that it was a practice borrowed from the Jews; that the intermediate days, between the feast and its octave, were of more relaxed observation, and, consequently, that the husbandman might take to his plough on the Monday after the twelfth day ‡, though it was within the octave of that feast; lastly, that the octave was, nevertheless, a festival to be observed by all.

I observe, lastly, that the Manifestation of our Saviour to the Gentiles, was always reckoned a part of the Christmas solemnity, according to the saying above, that Christmas-Day was not one of the twelve. We consider it at this time as such; the octave, consequently of that feast must be so too. And this is no more than proper, especially in these

* Easter-Monday and Tuesday, Whit-Monday and Tuesday.

† Sparrow's Rationale, P. 170.

‡ On this day the young men yoke themselves, and draw a plough about with music, and one or two persons, in antic dreses, like jack-puddings, go from house to house, to gather money to drink; if you refuse them, they plough up your dunghill. We call them here the Plough-Bullocks.

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western parts of the world; for, as the inhabitants thereof, ourselves for example, were of the number of those Gentiles, the imparting of the Gospel to the Gentiles, was a matter of the utmost consequence to us, and so is very justly made an appendage to the festival of the nativity.

To comprise the whole in a few words; the twentieth day is the octave of the Epiphany, which festival, with its octave, was usually included in the grand festival of Christmas; the festival is apparently so now, according to every one's apprehension, and the octave, in the nature of things, and according to the usual proceedings of the liturgies in such cases, is an essential part of that festival; and, though manual labour did in truth begin before the said octave, or twentieth day, as has been shewn, yet this was always anciently reckoned a day of obligation nevertheless, and by our ancestors was constantly kept as an holy day, and that both by the labourer and the gentleman; for, though the labourer might be allowed to begin to work before, as is said, yet he was always supposed and expected to observe the octave, or the last day, as is now, I think, very generally done.

Yours, &c.

1762, *Dec.* T. Rowe.

LIV. On the Holy Places at Jerusalem.

Mr. Urban,

THERE is nothing more astonishing in all Popery than the monstrous and boundless credulity of its professors. A true son of the church of Rome believes every thing he is told by his superiors, implicitly. Thus he receives the article of transubstantiation, in contradiction to the evidence of every one of his senses that is concerned in it; he relies on the infallibility of the church, though he knows not well where to lodge it, whether in the Pope or a general council, or in both jointly; and though both Popes and councils have so often erred, have contradicted and combated one another, he swallows every modern miracle and legend, though the several tricks and artifices whereby they have been palmed upon the world have been so often laid open and detected: and the Latin Fathers resident at Jerusalem take the Holy places, as they are called, to be the real spots

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which they are pretended to be, and shew them for such as pilgrims and travellers, such as Baumgarten, Gemelli, Sandys, &c. as appears from the books and writings of these travellers. Indeed they would be arrant cheats, impostors, and hypocrites, if they did not, since they actually perform the most solemn devotions at those places. But how great (that I may stick to this point) must be the uncertainty of this, when Jerusalem has so often changed masters, and has been so frequently wasted and destroyed? It is particularly recorded of Titus, that he set his soldiers "to demolish the city, with all its noble structures, fortifications, palaces, towers, walls, and other ornaments, down to the level of the ground, according to Christ's express prediction. He left nothing standing but a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of Hippicos, Phasael, and Mariamne, the former to serve as a rampart to his tenth legion, which he left there, and the three latter to give future ages some idea of the strength of the whole city, and of the skill and valour of its conqueror. His orders were so punctually executed, that, except those few buildings above-mentioned, there were not so much as any remains left that could serve as an index, that that ground had been once inhabited." The Jewish tradition adds, that Titus had caused the plough to be driven over it. Possibly, as is observed by the authors of the Universal History, Tome X. p. 690, this account may be somewhat exaggerated*, yet I suppose no city was ever more totally destroyed by an enemy. In regard of what was done here by the Emperor Hadrian, Sandys gives us the following account of it: "Threescore and five years after (the destruction by Titus) Ælius Adrianus inflicting on the rebelling Jews, a wonderful slaughter, subverted those remainders, [Hippicos, Phasael, &c.] and sprinkled salt upon the foundation, where, not long after, he built a city, but less in circuit, taking in Mount Calvary, and a part of Mount Gihon, with a valley between, which lay on the left side, and were excluded in the former city, setting over the gate that openeth towards Bethlehem, the portraiture of a swine, prohibiting the Jews for ever to enter, or so much as to look upon it from a more eminent mountain; and after his own name named it Ælia Capitolina†." According to these relations, the principal houses must all have been destroyed, the very form of the city

* See also Calmet's Dict. v. Jerusalem.

† Sandy's Travels, p. 121.

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was altered*, and there must have been a mighty chasm in the tradition concerning the sacred places, since the Jews, by the last Emperor, were excluded from entering the city, and making, consequently, the proper observations upon the sites of the respective places; a fact which must necessarily render those sites extremely precarious and uncertain, even though the city was not long after inhabited by the Christians. But all this, notwithstanding, the Fathers will shew you with the utmost assurance and preciseness, according to Sandys, for I propose to confine myself to this author, David's tower, his sepulchre, the Cœnaculum, the house of Annas, and that of Caiaphas, Christ's sepulchre, the house of Zebedee, house of St. Mark, house of St. Thomas, the place where the Jews would have taken away the body of the Blessed Virgin, the fountain of the Blessed Virgin, the place where the palace of Pilate stood, his arch, the place where they met Simon of Cyrene, where Dives lived, who, by the way, was no real person, where the Pharisee dwelt, and Veronica, another imaginary being.

I suppose, Sir, the above may be sufficient to establish the observation I have made on the credulity of the Papists, but, nevertheless, I desire to add a few more places, *ex abundantia*, such as, where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac, the stone of the anointing, the exact place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen, where she stood, of his apparition to his mother, where he was scourged, and the pillar distained with blood, where the angels stood, where Christ was imprisoned, where his garments were divided, where he was derided, where he was nailed to the cross, where he was crucified, where the Virgin and St. John stood at the time of the passion, &c. &c. &c. Perhaps, Sir, you may hardly think it possible that a set of men, pretending to some share of sense and learning, should be so weak and preposterous as to believe they had discovered the precise scenes of the above transactions, but the fathers are so indubitably convinced of them, that I assure you, Sir, many years indulgencies are granted to those that visit many of the places from a principle of devotion: and, Sir, if you were inclined to accompany Mr. Sandys to Emmaus, Bethlehem, the mountains of Judea, and the environs of Jerusalem, you will find the like marks of the most sottish credulity extending to many pages; for many of those places, as where St. Peter wept, where the Apostles hid

* See Sandys above cited, as likewise below in that page; also page 122.

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themselves, and where Christ prayed, &c. though they are without the city, cannot possibly be at this day better ascertained than those within. But I shall not trouble you, Mr. Urban, with any thing further on the subject, as the sample here given will, I presume, be sufficient both for yourself and the bulk of your readers.

Yours, &c.

1763, *Dec.* T. Row.

LV. On the custom of taking Persons to Feasts without invitations.

MR. URBAN,

PLUTARCH, in his Symposiacs, Book VII. treats of the origin of the custom of guests taking other persons with them to a feast who were not invited to it. He says this custom took its rise from Socrates, who, being invited to an entertainment by Agatho, persuaded Aristodemus, who was not invited, to go with him. It happened that Socrates, stopping by the way, Aristodemus came in before him, whence he obtained the name of *umbra* or *shade*, because he came before the person who invited him, as a shadow goes before the body that follows it. Plutarch then proceeds to lay down some rules for the regulation of this custom. He tells us that he who invites others to go with him to a feast, should not invite many, lest he should seem desirous to treat his friends at the expence of another person. He says also, that he should take the acquaintance of his host with him, and if he cannot do that, he should endeavour to suit the persons he takes with him to the genius and disposition of his friend. He then goes on to prescribe some rules to be observed by those who are invited in this manner. He says that if a great man, who is delighted with pomp and much attendance, invite a person to a feast at another person's table, the person invited must immediately refuse. If a friend or acquaintance ask, we must not easily assent, unless when he appears to have occasion for some discourse that cannot be deferred, or is returned from a journey, or is going abroad, or when he either takes only a few more, or us only along with him, or when he designs to introduce us to some worthy person; for if they be bad men, the more they seek to engage us, the more we should resist them. It is also absurd, says he, to go to an unknown person, un-

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less he be one of excellent virtues, with whom you may begin an acquaintance by this means. We ought, likewise, to go in this manner to those whom we will permit to bring others to us in the same way. We ought, says Plutarch, by no means to go to generals, or rich and powerful men in this manner, lest we should appear impudent, unpolite, or ambitious. This custom of taking persons who are not invited, to entertainments, prevailed also amongst the Romans, as appears from Horace, Lib. II. Sat. VIII.

Quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.

I am, Sir, &c.

1763, *Dec.*

LVI. Account of the Cross in Cheapside, and its Demolition.

MR. URBAN,

THERE has lately fallen into my hands a little print or representation of an incident that is now but little known, or rather is totally forgotten by almost all our historians; and yet deserves in my opinion to be recorded, as it shews the spirit and temper of the times in which it happened; the apprehensions the people in general were under from the terrors of popery; and the zeal they shewed in the demolition of the last remains of that idolatry in this great metropolis.

The incident here alluded to is the pulling down the old cross in Cheapside, erected, as Strype says, in 1290, by Edward I. at the last resting place of the remains of his deceased queen, in its progress from Herdeby, were she died, to Westminster-abbey, where she was interred. This cross was on this occasion adorned with the queen's image and arms, and afterwards enriched with the statues of saints, martyrs, and popes. In process of time it became still more considerable and useful, and conduits were added to it for supplying the city with water, which was brought in leaden pipes from a spring at three miles distance; and a public granary was erected over them to provide against the scarcity of corn, that the city should not be distressed for want of bread.

This cross, according to Strype, if I understand him right, is wholly different from the late conduit that was removed from Cheapside, being situated in quite a different part of

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the street; and the silence of our historians on its demolition seems to be the more inexcusable, as it appears to have been an object of public attention in more reigns than one.

In that of Henry VI. letters patent were issued for rebuilding and enlarging it, conferring a pre-eminence upon it as the grand aqueduct from whence all other aqueducts were to be supplied for the use of the city; and the public granary was also included in that patent, in order to provide against the calamities of famine, to which all populous cities in the then low state of agriculture, were at certain periods liable to be exposed. The water that supplied the aqueduct was brought in leaden pipes from the pond between Highgate and Hampstead; and the corn that supplied the granary was bought up at the public expence in years of plenty, and reserved to years of dearth, when it was retailed out at an equal price to rich and poor, that neither might have reason to complain of the arts of engrossers, or the exorbitant profits of ordinary retailers.

The common utility by this means increased the common respect. This cross being the great object of public convenience, became, in consequence, the chief object of the magistrate's attention. All men's eyes were directed to the great fountain from whence issued the two grand articles for the support of life, water and bread. In 1484, the citizens of London raised a subscription to repair and beautify it, and it was then considered as the greatest ornament of the great metropolis. In 1522 it was new gilt with gold, on the arrival of the Emperor Charles V. At the coronation of Edward VI. it received a new polish; and before the coronation of Queen Mary, all the decorations that could flatter Popish idolatry were bestowed upon it. At the public entry of King Philip of Spain, it was again re-touched, and magnificently ornamented; but soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, it began to be disregarded. In 1581, the lower images, to which the superstition of Popish times inclined idolatrous people to pay divine honours, were defaced and broken down; the image of the Blessed Virgin was at that time deprived of her infant son; the arms that held him in her lap were broken; and her body mangled in a rude and heretical manner. The rage of party generally breaks forth into extremes. In the room of the beautiful statue of the Blessed Virgin, a frightful figure of Diana took place, with a kind of rude machinery to force water from her naked breast, which, however, sometimes ran, but oftener appeared dry.

Before the year 1599 the timbers that supported the

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leaden roof were so decayed that presentments were made at the ordinary sessions that the whole building was a dangerous edifice, and a common nuisance; in consequence whereof it was again repaired, but not yet removed; the humour of the court was not yet ripe totally to erase that ancient monument of Popish adoration; many people still came secretly in the night to pay their devotions to the Blessed Virgin; but many more in the day most grossly abused her. On the 24th of December 1600, a thorough reparation was completed; the whole cross, by order of court, was beautified, and nothing remained to be done but to remove the scaffolding, when very unexpectedly the image of the Blessed Virgin that had been again restored, was most shamefully defaced; the crown with which she was dignified was plucked from her head, her naked infant torn from her bosom; and a dagger was left sticking in her breast as an indelible mark of the rancour with which the man was possest, who, in the zeal of bigotry, could thus vent his barbarity on a lifeless image.

From this time till the year 1643, it seems to have undergone no considerable alteration; but when the Rebellion broke out, and men's minds began to be agitated with religious passions, this Cross became again the object of enthusiastical resentment. The short note which gave rise to this inquiry, and which is the only relation that I can find of the final demolition of this celebrated structure, is in these words:

"The 2 of May, 1643, the crosse in Cheapeside was pulled downe, a troope of horse and two companies of foote wayted to garde it, and at the fall of the tope crosse dromes beat, trumpets blew, and multitudes of capes wayre throwne in the ayre, and a greate shoute of people with ioy. The 2 of May the Almanacke sayeth was the invention of the crosse. And 6 day at night was the leaden Popes burnt, in the place where it stood, with ringing of bells, and a greate acclamation, and no hurt done in all these actions."

Should any of your numerous correspondents be furnished with a more ample account of this memorable event, it would be an acceptable present to the public to communicate it through the channel of your Magazine.

I am, Sir, your's,

1764, *Suppl.* D. Y.

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LVII. **The Phrase, a Month's mind to do a thing, illustrated.**

MR. URBAN,

I Dare say you have frequently heard it said by those who have a great desire to have or to do something, that they have *a month's mind to it*, and it is probable that neither you nor any of your readers can account for the expression. I am not sure that I can do it perfectly myself, but I have something to communicate on the subject, that will perhaps afford entertainment if not instruction.

The following is an extract from the will of Thomas Windsor, Esq; which was dated in the year 1479:

"*Item*, I will that I have brennyng, at my burying and funeral service, four tapers, and twenty-two torches of wax, every taper to conteyn the weight of ten pounds, and every torch sixteen pounds, which I will that twenty-four poor men, and well disposed, shall hold, as well at the tyme of my burying, as at my *monethe's minde*."

"*Item*, I will, that after my *monethe's mind* done, the said four tapers be delivered to the church-wardens, &c."

"And that there be 100 children within the age of 16 years to be at my *monethe's minde*, to say for my soul.—That against my *monethe's minde*, the candles bren before the *rude* in the parish church."

"Also, that at my *monethe's minde*, my executors provide 20 priests to sing *placebo*, *dirige*, &c."

The *Monethe's minde* mentioned in this extract, was a service performed for the dead, one month after their decease; there were also *Week's minds*, and *Year's minds*, which were services for the dead performed at the end of a week and of a year.

The word *mind* signified *remembrance*, a month's *remembrance*, after a month's *mind* was a *remembrance* after a month, a year's *mind*, a *remembrance* after a year. The phrase *month's mind* survived the custom, of which it was the name, and the words being still remembered as coupled when their original meaning was almost forgotten, it is I think easy to conceive that a person who had a strong desire to a thing, might instead of saying, *I have a mind to it*, say I have a *month's mind to it*, as meaning something more.

Yours, &c.

1765, *Suppl.*

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LVIII. On the Custom of adorning Churches with Evergreens.

Har—b—rh, Dec. 12, 1765.

MR. URBAN,

IN the Palladium for 1765, was propounded by Mr. J. Lyon of Margate, this query, "From whence is derived the custom of putting up laurel, box, holly, or ivy, in churches at Christmas; and what is the signification thereof?" And in the Palladium for 1766, we are told, that it was answered by Nobody.

Having employed some thoughts on that subject, I should be glad (by means of your Magazine) to offer to the consideration of the curious the following conjecture.

It seems very probable that the origin or first hint of the ancient custom of dressing our churches and houses at Christmas with greens, was owing to, or taken from certain expressions in the following prophecies of the coming of our Saviour:

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch*: For behold, I will bring forth my servant the branch†: Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the branch, and he shall grow up out of his place‡: At that time will I cause the branch of righteousness to grow up unto David‖. Thus saith the Lord God, I will also take of the highest branch of the high cedar, and will set it; I will crop off from the top of his young twigs, a tender one, and will plant it upon an high mountain, and eminent. In the mountain of the height of Israel will I plant it; and it shall bring forth boughs, and bear fruit, and it shall be a goodly cedar§. In that day shall the branch of the Lord be beautiful and glorious¶. For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground**; and the Lord shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth even for ever††. There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots‡‡, which

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* Jeremiah xxiii. 5. † Zechariah iii. 8. ‡ Zechariah vi. 12.
‖ Jeremiah xxxiii. 15. § Ezekiel xvii. 22, 23. ¶ Isaiah iv. 2.
** Isaiah liii. 2. †† Micah iv. 7. ‡‡ Isaiah xi. 1.

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shall stand for an ensign of the people *; and my servant David shall be their prince for ever †."

For it must be allowed, that those passages and expressions in which our Saviour is represented under the type of a *branch*, a *righteous branch*, a *bough*, the *branch of righteousness*, who will reign for *ever*, &c. in the above-mentioned clear and eminent prophecies, of his first appearance in the flesh, upon earth, are, in a most lively manner, brought to our memories, and strongly alluded to by those *branches and boughs* of *evergreens*, &c. with which our churches and houses are adorned, whose gay appearance and perpetual verdure in that dead season of the year, when all nature looks comfortless, dark and dreary, and when the rest of the vegetable world have lost their honours, does agreeably charm the unweared beholder, and make a very suitable appendage to the universal joy which always attends the annual commemoration of that holy festival.

It is not at all unlikely, but that this custom was farther intended as an allusion, to those passages of the Prophet Isaiah, which foretell the felicites attending the coming of Christ, viz.

"The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine-tree, and the box together, *to beautify the place of my sanctuary*, (*Isaiah* lx. 13.) Instead of the thorn, shall come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle-tree? and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."

I am, Sir, &c.

GOTHIC.

P.S. I have met with another opinion concerning the origin of this ancient custom, which you have below, in the anonymous author's own words:

"William of Malmsbury, in his book of Antiquities of Glastonbury, assures us, that Frecuphus affirms, in the fourth chapter of his second book, that Philip the Apostle, preaching the word of God in Gaul, which is now called France, chose out twelve of his disciples, whom he sent to Briton, to preach the word of life. He appointed over these as chief, Joseph of Arimathea, his dear friend, who buried our Lord.

"These, according to John Capgrave, who brings Milkin

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* Isaiah x. 10. † Ezekiel xxxvii. 25.

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and Merlin for vouchers, came into this land in the year of Christ's incarnation 36, in the time of Arviragus, who gave to them the isle of Avalon, where they built an oratory of wrythen wands, or boughs, which was the first christian church, if one may so call it, which was erected in Britain. We find this custom was followed in the first times, in building the christian churches in Britain, of boughs; and I am apt to think that the custom of adorning our churches at Christmas, as well as our houses with evergreens, proceeds from what has been related."

1765, *Suppl.*

LIX. Account of several British Antiquities, found near Chateris, in the Isle of Ely, in a letter from the late Dr. Stukely to Mr. Peter Collinson, F. R. S.

THE isle of Ely extends from Cotenham, Cambridgeshire, for forty miles in length, to the old river, called Nine, running eastward to Wisbech river, which divides it from Lincolnshire, therefore called Shire drain.

The isle is, for the most part, a vast fenny level, divided into many islets of high ground; some of gravelly soil, some of chalk; separated from one another, as well as from the continent, (if so we may express it) by impassible boggy ground, rivers, and large meres.

These islands of firm ground, are well inhabited, have towns, and fair churches, woods, pastures, and fresh springs, so that each, in summer time, is as a paradise detached from the rest of the busy world.

The fenny parts were originally, for the main, drier, and better ground, than now. I have largely discussed this affair, in cap. iv. of my Medallic History of Carausius, Book II. on account of an artificial canal called Carsdike, which that emperor drew across it, to carry corn boats to the Scottish Pretenturæ, and of the many roads he made there.

Before Roman times, we may be well assured the most ancient Britons, when they advanced so far northward as the isle of Ely, from the southern coasts of their first landing, would greedily seize upon these islets of high ground, so fortified with rivers and fens; and erect petty sovereignties there, in soil so rich, and so secure, for each may be reckoned as a British oppidum according to Cæsar's

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description of that of Cassibelin, *Sylvis, paludibusque egregie munitum.*

I here exhibit a curious instance, in these remains of remote antiquity, found at Chateris, in the summer of the year 1757, and given to me by Robert Fawcet, Esq; lord of the manor; and as we may say, successor to the king, who owned these martial accoutrements before us.

The world has been lately obliged in a high degree to Mr. Macpherson, for publishing a translation of those excellent poetic compositions of Ossian in Ersk language.

I cannot call it vanity in me, if I think no one can be a better judge of their authenticity. My reason is, because they illustrate and confirm those notions, and those ideas, I formed in my mind concerning the original Britons; when, for many summers, I examined into those stupendous works, the temples of Abury and Stonehenge, the cursus's, and innumerable barrows, and like matters pertaining to them; which I have long ago printed.

The reading of Fingal revives all my former thoughts concerning them. I see clearly, that people of his, were the true remains of our most ancient Britons; who came by sea from the eastern countries, Phœnicia, Arabia, Egypt, and that before Gaul was peopled.

I saw the same notions and customs in the highland heroes; they were the same people, had the same customs, and religion as the first Britons. The Ersk language, old Scottish, Manks, Irish, Cornish, all are remains of the most ancient inhabitants, thrust forward by the Romans.

From this book, I see the reason of the appearance of these present antiquities; agreeable to those I found, in digging into the tumuli, about Abury and Stonehenge.

Chateris has its name Charreuse, from a nunnery founded there A. D. 980, by Alfwena mother to Earl Ailwyn, alderman of all England; founder of the noble abby of Ramsey.

The scite of Chateris monastery was probably the palace of the monarch among the old Britons, whose tomb they dug up. It was a piece of gravelly ground pretty much elevated, toward Somershan ferry, and was his family burying place, for there were more bodies interred in the same spot.

They were not above two feet and a half under the turf. On the right side of his body, and under his arm, lay his sword; the handle consumed, no guard or cross bar at the handle appeared. Such were the long Irish skenes; on the left side, lay the spear, the staff of it consumed; the same must be said of his bow, for often they were buried

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with them. On his breast lay the iron umbo, or navel of his shield; the materials of which it was made, a bull's hide, consumed. At his head was placed the great urn as usual, of black earth, or clay; this we suppose held the bones of his wife, burnt; she dying before him, they were kept to be interred with him; this case I have often observed at Stonehenge, and this was the origin of urn burial, long before the Roman name was extant; which I take to be the present case, for this sepulture may be 3000 years old; and of some of the first inhabitants of our island.

The sword is only an intire body of rust, the same may be said of the spear head, and of the umbo. We may not think amiss, in supposing it of the fabric of Damascus, for I look upon it little to be doubted of, that our first British ancestors were of the progeny of Abraham, in the Arabian line, by Hagar and by Keturah; those Ishmalite and Midianite merchants, who came hither with the Tyrian Hercules to seek for tin. Much I could say in proof of it, but not at this time.

I am the more persuaded into this sentiment, on account of the curious glass vase, found along with the recited utensils; it was broke in pieces as well as the urn, by the workmen. I could not set the pieces together, so as to be certain of the exact figure of the glass; but the pieces are of a fabric very extraordinary; and what I have never observed before, nor can I guess at its use.

It is notorious, that our Britons were famous for their artifice in glass works. We find many of their beads, snake-stones, as called; and like things of exquisite curiosity. Mr. Bell, of the Antiquarian society, bought a curious piece in glass, representing a snake rolled up. Mr. Baker has another; this is the thing of which Pliny writes, in a marvelous fable. Some curious parti-coloured beads of theirs are to be seen; some in Mr. Edward Llwyds plate of British antiquities, in Camden's Britannia.

Between Tyre, and the city Acon, in Phœnicia, is the famous sand-hill, for making glass, mentioned by Josephus, Strabo, Stephanus the geographer, Pliny.

Our Hercules came from Tyre, he built Acon; he made a serpentine temple there, like that of Abury; whence the name Acon, signifying a serpent, hence the hakpen hill of Abury, signifying the serpent's head.

I mention all this, to show how our old Britons brought the art of glass-making with them from the east; and these matters mutually prove one another, both, that they came

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hither by sea from the Phænician coast; and that these glass works prove it, among innumerable other arguments which I could produce.

All considerations demonstrate this to be the true case; let us consider the measure of the antiquities before us, in regard to the ancient Druid, and Oriental cubit; this is somewhat more than our twenty inches, the blade of the sword is edged on both sides, two feet seven inches long, which is exactly a cubit and half; near two inches broad, the fifth part of half a cubit.

The iron of the spear head is exactly half a cubit long; some little matter above ten inches. The diameter of the umbo of the shield half that quantity.

There cannot be a better proof of the oriental extraction of our old Britons. Here in the isle of Ely, they lived in great security, for the conquest of this particular country, gave the Romans no little trouble; the same of the Normans; for there was no easy passage into it.

On the 22d of February 1759, Mr. Jacobs, of Feversham, gave an account to the Antiquarian society, of digging up a body near Barham downs, of an old Briton; a sword and spear found with it, of like manner as ours; moreover a necklace of glass beads was about the neck of the skeleton.

Such ornaments I observe about the necks of our British kings on their coins; whereof I have 15 plates engraven, with their descriptions.

The glass vase found with the body at Chateris, was unluckily broken in pieces, which renders it impossible to know its exact figure or use; but the make of it is extraordinary, and what, I believe, our present glass blowers cannot perform; many pipes proceeded from it, but closed; I think ten in number. I never saw one like it, nor can I conjecture what its purpose was.

We learn from Fingal the whole import of this discovery of our British hero; the sword, spear, and umbo, bespeak vast antiquity, being only a body of rust; like the British king's bridle, founder of the immense work of Abury, which cannot be less than 3000 years old; it was dug up with his body on Silbury hill, the largest tumulus in the world; and is now in my possession.

We learn from Fingal the custom of burying these martial instruments, with the owners, and this particular circumstance, that our hero was the last of his family; otherwise, it was their custom to bequeath their armour to their sons, to be kept in the hall from generation to generation.

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From Fingal we learn the use of the brazen horns, here exhibited by bishop Pocock; found in bogs in Ireland: they sounded with them to battle.

The sword and bow were the usual instruments of our Britons, as in Fingal; and as with the heroes of Phœnicia, probably our hero of Chateris had his bow buried with him, but consumed.

So Jacob in his last will, Genesis XLVIII. 22, gave to his son Joseph, a portion above his brethren; which he took out of the hand of the Amorites, with his sword, and with his bow.

1766, *March.* W. STUKELY.

LX. Custom of making April-Fools.

Mr. URBAN,

IT is a matter of some difficulty to account for the expression, *an April fool*, and the strange custom so universally prevalent throughout this kingdom, of people's *making fools of one another* on the 1st of April, by trying to impose upon each other, and sending one another, upon that day, upon frivolous, ridiculous, and absurd errands. However, something I have to offer on the subject, and I shall here throw it out, if it were only to induce others to give us their sentiments. The custom, no doubt, had an original, and one of a very general nature; and therefore one may reasonably hope, that though one person may not be so happy as to investigate the meaning and occasion of it, yet another possibly may. But I am the more ready to attempt a solution of this difficulty, because I find Mr. Bourne, in his Antiquitates Vulgares, has totally omitted it, though it fell so plainly within the compass of his design.

I observe, first, Mr. Urban, that this custom, and expression, has no connection at all, with the 'Festum Hypodiaconorum, Festum Stultorum, Festum Fatuorum, Festum Innocentium, &c.' mentioned in Du Fresne; for these jocular festivals were kept at a very different time of the year.

2dly, That I have found no traces, either of the name, or of the custom, in other countries, insomuch that it appears to me to be an indigenal custom of our own. I speak only as to myself in this; for others, perhaps, may have discovered it in other parts, though I have not.

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Now, thirdly, to account for it; the name undoubtedly arose from the custom, and this I think arose from hence: our year formerly began, as to some purposes, and in some respects, on the 25th of March, which was supposed to be the Incarnation of our Lord; and it is certain, that the commencement of the new year, at whatever time that was supposed to be, was always esteemed an high festival, and that, both amongst the ancient Romans, and with us. Now, Sir, great festivals were usually attended with an Octave; that is, they were wont to continue 8 days, whereof the first and the last were the principle; and you will find that the first of April is the Octave of the 25th of March, and the close or ending, consequently, of that feast, which was both the festival of the annunciation, and of the commencement of the new year. From hence, as I take it, it became a day of extraordinary mirth and festivity, especially amongst the lower sort, who are apt to pervert and to make a bad use of institutions which at first might be very laudable in themselves.

I am, Sir, &c.

1766, *April.* T. Row.

LXI. On the Regalls, or Rigols, a Musical Instrument, formerly used in the King's Chapel.

THERE is an officer at this day in the King's Chapel at St. James's who is called *Tuner of the Regalls*, and the person is Mr. Bernard Gates, with a stipend of 56l. Now there are few people that know any thing of the nature of this instrument, though it was once in public use, and the salary for regulating it is still continued: it may therefore be worth while to bestow a few words upon it.

It is written at present *regalls*, but in books it is commonly *rigols*, and this I take to be the truer orthography. As to the instrument itself Grassineau makes a kind of *faggotino* of it, describing it thus, "A kind of musical instrument, consisting of several sticks bound together, only separated by beads. It makes a tolerable harmony, being well struck with a ball, at the end of a stick." Other authors, with more reason, represent it as a clarichord, or clavichord. Thus Skinner, 'Rigols, vox quæ mihi in solo Dict. Angl. occurrit, exp. instrumentum musicum, quod alio nomine clavichordium, *a clavicord*, dicitur.'—And it must be acknow-

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ledged that this agrees best with the service to be performed by it in the King's Chapel, where it was employed in the place of the organ; as likewise with the post it occasioned, which was that of *tuning* it, or keeping it in order; see also the passage cited below from Spelman. The etymology comes next to be considered, and here Skinner says, 'Author somniando, ut solet, suaviter deducit a Fr. G. Regaillardir, exhilarari; sane si talis vox sit, quod nullus credo, mallem deducere a Fr. G. se Rigoler, deridere, irridere, lascivire, hoc a Lat. Ridiculus, ridiculari, vel quod magis placet, a Lat. Lyricula.'—As before he said he found the word no where but in the English Dictionary, though it occurs in many authors, whom I need not name, so here he professes absolutely to disbelieve there is any such word. However, his etymology from Lyricula is not greatly amiss, since rigols may naturally enough be corrupted or shortened from Lyricula. Nevertheless I do not take it to be the truth, but that the word rather comes from the Italian Rigabello, being a corruption of that; for hear Sir H. Spelman, 'In Æde Sancti Raphaelis Venetiis, instrumenti musici cujusdam forma extat, ei nomen rigabello: cujus in ecclesiis usus fuerit ante organa illa pneumatica quæ hodie usurpantur. Rigabello successit aliud quod Tursello dictum est, cujus Venetias usum induxit homo Germanus.' Sansovinus, Lib. 6. Descript. Venetiarum.—The sense of which is. "That in the church of St. Raphael at Venice, the figure of a certain musical instrument, called a *rigabello*, was to be seen; it was wont to be used in churches, before organs came into vogue. Another instrument, called *turcello* succeeded the *rigabello*, the use of which was introduced at Venice by a German*."

This passage not only discovers the etymology of the word, namely that it is a corruption or contraction of *rigabello* †, but likewise shews how we came by the instrument, viz. that it came to us from Italy in those times when this island had a constant intercourse with that country, and in a manner borrowed every thing from thence relative to the practice and service of the church. The French, I apprehend, had their word, *regale*, which signifies the same thing, from the same original, and the same country. And if any one, after all, should chuse to spell the word

* Spelm. Gloss, v. Rigabello. See also Du Fresne in voce.

† Rigabel, Rigol.

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regalls, and to fetch it immediately from the French *regale*, I shall have no great objection; however, I am for the other etymology myself.

Yours, &c.

1767, *March.* T. Row.

LXII. An account of the principal Buildings, Streets, &c. in London and Westminster, with their Antiquity, Derivation, &c. extracted from Stow, Speed, Maitland, &c.

ADLE-STREET, is in old records called King Adel-street, from king Adelstan the Saxon.

Admiralty-Office was formerly called Wallingford-house.

Albemarle-street, so named from the Duke of Albemarle, who bought the east of Clarendon's House, which stood there.

Ald-Gate, i. e. Old-Gate, was one of the four original gates of the city, being mentioned in King Edgar's reign, in 967. The late gate was rebuilt in 1609.

Aldermanbury was so called from the mayor and aldermen holding their berry or court, in a hall which formerly stood on the east side of that street, till the New Berry court, or Guildhall that now is, was finished.

Aldersgate was rebuilt in 1617, and repaired in 1670.

Arches, court of, kept in the church of St. Mary-le-bow, was so called from the arches, or bows, that were on the steeple.

Ave-mary Lane was so called in the Popish times, from text-writers and bead-makers who dwelt there.

Bank of England was begun to be built in 1732, and finished in 1734.

Barbican took its name from a watch tower, or burk-kenning, which stood there, and was destroyed by Henry III. in 1267.

Barnard's Inn was formerly the house of John Mackworth, dean of Lincoln, and was given by him to the professors of the law.

Bartholomew Fair, was instituted in the reign of Henry I.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was also founded by Henry I. was reformed and endowed by Henry VIII. and incorporated by Edward VI. It was rebuilt in 1729.

Bennet-street, Westminster, so called from Bennet College Cambridge, to whom it belongs.

Bermondsey-street took its name from a priory, or abbey, of St. Saviour, called Bermonds-eye, founded in 1081, and suppressed in 1539.

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Bethlem, or Bedlam Hospital, was built in 1676, at 17,000l. expence.

Birchin-Lane was anciently called Birchover's-Lane, from its builder.

Bishopsgate is supposed to have been built by some bishop, about the year 1200. It was rebuilt in 1479, and 1735.

Blackfriars-Bridge was begun in 1761. The expence is not toexceed 160,000l*.

Blackwell-Hall, corruptly so called, properly Bakewell-Hall, formerly belonged to the ancient family of the Bassings, and from thence was called Bassings-Hall, from whom also that ward takes its name, as Coleman-street from Coleman, and Farringdon Ward from William and Nicholas Farringdon, the principal owners of those places. This hall was called Bakewell-Hall from Thomas Bakewell, who dwelt in this house in 36 Edward III. Being burnt in 1666, it was rebuilt in 1672 by Christ's Hospital, to whom the city gave the profits; which are about 1100l. a year.

Bloomsbury was anciently a village named Lomsbury, in which were the king's stables, till they were burnt in 1354.

Blossoms-Inn, Laurance-Lane, was so called from having for its sign St. Lawrence, the deacon, in a border of Blossoms, or flowers.

Bridewell, so called from its being near a spring called St. Bridget's or St. Bride's Well, was formerly the king's palace, till, in 1533, Edward VI. gave it to the city as a workhouse for the poor. It was burnt in 1666, and rebuilt in 1682.

Canonbury-House formerly belonged to the prior and canons of St. Bartholomew's in West-Smithfield.

Change, Old, was so called from the King's Exchange, kept there for the coining of bullion, 6 Henry III.

Channel-Row, properly Canon-Row, from the Canons of St. Stephen's, Westminster, who dwelt there.

Charing-Cross was so called from a Cross set up by Edward I. in memory of his queen, on the spot were King Charles's statue now stands. Charing was then a village.

Charter House, or more properly Chartreux (so called from the monastery which stood there, and was dissolved by Henry VIII.) was founded and endowed at the sole cost of Thomas Sutton, Esq. who purchased the house of the Earl of Suffolk, for 13,000l. It was opened October 1614. The estate is now above 6000l. per ann.

* It was finished in 1770, at the expence of 152,840l.

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Cheapside derives its name from there being a market there, which in Saxon is a cheap.

Christ's Hospital was founded by Edward VI. in 1552.

Clerkenwell, or Clerks Well, took its name from the parish Clerks of London, who of old used to assemble there every year, to play some large history of Holy Scripture.

Cleveland Court was formerly a large house called Berkshire House, purchased by the Duke of Cleveland.

Clifford's Inn was a house granted by Edward II. to the family of the Cliffords, and afterwards leased, and then sold to the students of the law.

College of Heralds was incorporated by Richard III.

——— of Physicians in 1682.

Covent (i. e. Convent) Garden, was formerly a Garden belonging to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. It was granted in 1552 to John, Earl of Bedford.

Cripple-Gate was built before the conquest, and took its name from the Cripples who used to beg there. It was repaired in 1633.

Crutched Fryers took its name from a monastery of the holy Cross, suppressed by Henry VIII.

Custom House was first established 6 Richard II. Being burnt in 1718, the present building was erected soon after.

East India House was built in 1726.

Ely House was given by William de Luda Bishop of Ely, to his successors in 1297.

Exeter Change, was so called from the house of the Earls of Exeter which stood near it.

Fenchurch-street took its name from a Fenny, or Moorish ground, so made by a stream (called Lang-bourn) that formerly passed through it.

Finsbury was formerly called Fensbury, for the same reason.

Fleet Dyke, or Ditch, was formerly called the River or Fleet, being navigable for merchant ships as far as Holbourn Bridge.

Fleet was first made a Prison in the reign of Richard I.

Gate-House Prison was built in the reign of Edward III.

Gerrards Hall, properly Gisors Hall, took its name from John Gisors, mayor of London, who in 1245 was owner of it, and in whose family it continued till 1386.

Goodman's Fields were in Stow's time, the Field and Farm of one Goodman.

Grace Church Street, formerly Grass Church Street, was so called from Grass, or Herbs sold there.

Gray's Inn was a house belonging to the Grays of Wilton,

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who resided there from 1315, till the reign of Edward III. when they demised it to the students of the law.

Gresham College was founded by Sir Thomas Gresham, in 1596. It is now purchased by the government, in order to convert it into an Excise-Office.

Guild-Hall was begun to be built in 1411, and finished in 1421.

Hicks's Hall was erected for a sessions house in 1612, by Sir Baptist Hicks, a Mercer.

Holborn was formerly a village called Old-born, or Hill-born, from a stream which broke out near the place where the bars now stand, and ran down the street to Old-born Bridge, and so into the River of Fleet, now Fleet Ditch. This was long ago stopped up at the head, and in other places. Holborn was first paved in 1535.

Hounds Ditch was formerly the city Ditch, and, when open, was frequently filled with filth, as dead dogs, &c. whence its name derives.

House of Commons was formerly St. Stephen's Chapel, being founded by that king. It was new built and endowed by Edward III. in 1347, and suppressed by Edward VI. since which time it has served as a parliament-house.

St. James's Palace was anciently an hospital for lepers. Being surrendered to Henry VIII. he built the present house.

St. James's Park was made by Henry VIII.

St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, belonged to the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, being the chief seat in England of those religious knights. It was founded about the year 1100, and suppressed 32 Henry VIII.

King Street was so called from its being the King's common road to and from his palace at Westminster.

Langbourn (or Long Stream) was a great stream breaking out of the ground in Fenchurch Street, which ran swiftly west, across Grasschurch Street, and down Lombard Street, to the west end of St. Mary Woolnoth's church, and then turning south down Shareborn Lane (so styled from sharing, or dividing) ran in several rills to the Thames. It has been long stopped up at the head, and the rest of it filled up and paved over.

Leaden Hall was purchased by the city for a common market, and was made free in 1619.

Lincoln's Inn was so called from being the Inn, or Town-house, of Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, constable of Chester, &c. who died there in 1310.

Lombard Street took its name from the Lombards, and

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other foreign merchants, who assembled there twice every day before the building of the Royal Exchange.

London Bridge began to be built of stone (the wooden bridge having been burnt) in 1176, and was finished in 1209, the course of the river being for the time turned another way by a trench dug for that purpose; beginning (as it is supposed) east near Rotherhith, and ending in the west near Battersea. It is 915 feet long, and 73 wide.*

London Stone, of the antiquity of this there is no memorial, save that it is mentioned in a gospel book, given to Christ Church, Canterbury, before the conquest.

London Wall is supposed to have been originally built by Theodosius the elder, in the year 368.

Long Acre, in 1552, was a field, and went by the name of the Seven Acres.

Ludgate was repaired in 1215, 1260, 1586, and 1699.

Mansion House was begun in 1739, and finished in 1753, on the site of Stocks market.

St. Martin's le Grand, so called from a large college of secular priests, founded in 1056, and suppressed in 1548.

Merchant Taylors School was founded by that company, in 1561. It was burnt in 1666.

Mark Lane was originally Mart Lane, being a public mart.

Mewse, so called from the kings falcons there anciently kept, was new built for stables in the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary. The north side was rebuilt by George II.

The Minories was an abbey of nuns of the order of St. Clare, suppressed in 1539, 30 Henry VIII.

The Monument was erected to perpetuate the memory of the Fire of London. It was begun in 1671, and finished in 1677. It is 15 feet in diameter, and 202 feet high, the exact distance of it from the spot where the fire first broke out.

Moor Fields, in 1477, were a moorish rotten piece of ground, and impassable but for causeways made for that purpose, and so continued till 1605.

Moor Gate was built in 1415, and rebuilt in 1674.

Musæum, British, formerly Montagu House, was built in 1677 by Ralph the first duke of that family — and was founded and endowed by Sir Hans Sloane, in 1753.

Newcastle House was built by the Marquis of Powis, in 1686.

Newgate was first built about the reign of Henry I. or Stephen, and rebuilt in 1412. It was afterwards repaired in 1631, and rebuilt in 1672.

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* It was improved in 1758.

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New Inn was so called to distinguish it from the Old Inn belonging to the society in Seacoal Lane near Fleet Ditch.

New River was brought from Chadwell and Amwell in Hertfordshire, to the reservoir near Islington, at the sole expence of Sir Hugh Middleton, Knight, in 1613, after five years labour.

Paternoster Row was so called from the Stationers, or Text-writers, who dwelt there, and who wrote and sold all sorts of books then in use, viz. A B C with the Paternoster, Ave, Creed, Graces, &c. There dwelt also turners of beads, and they were called Paternoster makers.

St. Paul's Church was first founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent, in 610. It was burnt in 1087 with most part of the city, and was rebuilt soon after on stone arches. The steeple, which was finished in 1222, was fired by lightning in 1444, and was again burnt, together with all the roof of the church in 1561, by the negligence of a plumber, who confessed it on his death-bed, though till then, it was thought to have been done by lightning. Lastly, the whole church being burnt in the fire of London, 1666, was entirely rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. It was begun in 1675, and finished in 1711.

St. Paul's School was built and endowed by Dr. John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, in 1512.

Piccadilly was so called from the Piccadillos, i. e. the stiff collars, or bands, formerly worn, by which a taylor got an estate, and built the first houses there.

Poultry Compter hath been a prison time out of mind.

Powis House was built by the Marquis of Powis, in queen Anne's reign.

Privy Garden was so called because it was appropriated to the king's private use, while he resided at Whitehall.

Queen's Library was erected and furnished by queen Caroline, in 1737.

Queen's Palace, formerly Arlington, and then Buckingham house, being purchased and rebuilt by that duke in 1703. It was bought of Sir Charles Sheffield, Bart. by his present majesty (for queen Charlotte) in 1762.

The Rolls was formerly the house of the converted Jews, and was founded by Henry III. in 1223; but they being banished out of England, Edward III. in 1377, annexed it to the office of the keeper of the rolls in chancery. It was rebuilt by Sir Joseph Jekyll, at 7000l expence.

Rood Lane was so called from a Rood placed there in St. Mary's church yard, while the old church was rebuilding,

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during which time the oblations made to this Rood were employed towards building the church.

Royal Exchange was erected by Sir Thomas Gresham, in 1567, on the site of 80 houses, and was so named by queen Elizabeth in person, by sound of trumpet, &c. in 1570. Being destroyed by the fire in 1666, it was rebuilt soon after at 66000l. expence, king Charles II. laying the first stone.

The Savoy was first built by Peter Earl of Savoy and Richmond, uncle to Henry III. in 1245. Afterwards having been purchased by Queen Eleanor, for her son, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, it was burnt by the rebels of Kent and Essex in enmity to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1381. It was rebuilt and made an hospital of St. John Baptist, by Henry VII. about 1509, but was suppressed by Edward VI. It was new founded by Queen Mary in 1557.

Scotland Yard was so called from the buildings there being erected for the reception of the Kings of Scotland when they came to the English parliament.

Shore Ditch derives its name, not as has been supposed from Jane Shore's dying there, but from Sir John Shore or Shoreditch, its Lord of the manor in the reign of Edward III.

Sion College was founded at 3000l. expence, and endowed with 160l. a year, by Dr. Thomas White, one of the residentiaries of St. Paul's. The library was built by Mr. John Simpson, rector of St. Olave, Hart Street.

Smithfield (i. e. a smeth or smooth ground) was used as a market in Fitz Stephen's time, 550 years ago. It was paved by the city at 1600l. expence, in 1614.

Somerset House was built by the Duke of Somerset, lord protector, and uncle to Edward VI. in 1549, and on his attainder it was forfeited to the crown. The back front was built on a design of Inigo Jones by his son-in-law Mr. Webb.

Spittal-fields were so called from the priory of St. Mary (dissolved by Henry VIII.) where sermons were annually preached in the Easter holidays, as they are now at St. Bride's, and thence are called Spittal Sermons.

Staple Inn was once a hall for the merchants of the Staple of wool, but has been an inn of court ever since 1415.

The Temple was founded by the knights Templars in 1185, but they being suppressed in 1310, it was given by Edward III. to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and they soon after leased it to the students of the law, in whose possession it has continued ever since.

Temple Bar was built in 1670.

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Thavy's Inn was formerly the house of Mr. John Thavy, in the reign of Edward III. who let it as an inn to students of the law.

St. Thomas's Hospital was founded by Edward VI. in 1552.

Tower (White) was built by William the Conqueror in 1078, and in 1190 it was compassed with a wall and ditch. It was almost new built in 1637-8. Wild beasts were first kept there in 1235, three leopards being then sent by the emperor to Henry III. Gold was first coined there in 1344, and criminals were first executed on Tower Hill in 1466.

Walbrook was so called from a running water which entered the wall between Bishops Gate and Moor Gate, and thence took its name. It ran through the city, with several windings, from north to south into the Thames, and had many bridges over it. It was afterwards vaulted over, paved, and built upon, so that it is now hid under ground.

Westminster Abbey was built by Henry III. and finished after 50 years labour, in 1220. Henry VII. built his chapel on the east side in 1502, at 14000l. expence. It was made a collegiate church by queen Elizabeth, in 1559, who at the same time founded the school.

Westminster Bridge was built in 11 years and nine months, at 218,800l. expence*.

Westminster Hall was built by William Rufus about 1097. The king's palace, of which this was a part, was burnt in 1512. The courts of law were first fixed there in 1224.

White Hall was so named by Henry VIII. on its being forfeited to him by cardinal Wolsey's attainder. It was before called York Place, and was the palace of the archbishops of York. It was the residence of the King till 1697, when it was burnt down.

Whitehall chapel was formerly the King's banquetting house, and is all that remains of the palace there, to which it was added by James I. according to a design of Inigo Jones.

Wood Street Compter was first used as a prison.

1767, *Nov.*

LXIII. On Apostle-Spoons and Peg-Tankards.

Mr. URBAN,

WE have certain terms or expressions which in a very little time will become obscure; they are already obsolete,

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* It was finished in 1750, and is said to have cost upwards of 400,000l.

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and in a few years may grow perfectly unintelligible. I would do to these, what Mr. Richard Warner proposes to do in respect of Shakespear, that is, prevent if possible, the total obscuration of those evanescent terms. The Apostle spoons are a sort of spoons in silver with round bits, very common in the beginning of the last century, but are seldom to be seen now. The set consists of a dozen, and each had the figure of an apostle, with his proper ensign at the top. I have seen in my time, two or three sets, but at present they are scarce, being generally exchanged for spoons of a more modern form, and consequently melted down.

Our ancestors were formerly famous for compotation; their liquor was ale, and one method of amusing themselves this way was with the peg-tankard. There are four or five of these tankards now remaining in this country, and I have lately had one of them in my hand. It had on the inside a row of eight pins one above another, from top to bottom. It held two quarts, (and was a noble piece of plate) so that there was a gill of ale, half a pint Winchester measure, between each peg. The law was, that every person that drank was to empty the space between pin and pin, so that the pins were so many measures to make the company all drink alike, and to swallow the same quantity of liquor. This was a contrivance for merriment, and at the same time a pretty sure method of making all the company drunk, especially if it be considered that the rule was, that whoever drank short of his pin, or beyond it, was obliged to drink again, and even as deep as to the next pin. And it was for this reason, that in Archbishop Anselm's canons made in the council of London A. D. 1102, priests are enjoined not to go to drinking bouts, nor to drink to pegs. The words are, 'ut Presbyteri non eant ad potationes, *nec ad pinnas bibant*' Wilkins Concil. I. p. 382*. This shews the antiquity of the invention, as well as the evil tendency of it; and as it must have been some time before the abuse and inconvenience of the practice was noted, so as to be made a matter of prohibitory injunction, we must suppose that these tankards were at least as old as the Norman Conquest; perhaps might be introduced by those jolly fellows the Danes. The word tankard it is thought comes from the

* Our Saxon ancestors, says Rapin, were so addicted to drunkenness, that they were wont to drink out of large cups and take great draughts till Edgar, in order to reform this abuse, ordered certain marks to be made in their cups at a certain height, above which they were forbidden to fill under a severe penalty. Edit.

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Dutch *Tankaerd*, and probably it may, but *quære*, whether the Dutch word may not, by a transposition of letters, be the Latin *cartharus*. Such metathesises are frequent, and particularly in our language. Thus though I meet with the word *galeo* and *galo* as Latin for a gallon in our monkish writers, yet I conceive the original of the English word gallon to be *lagena*, and that the monkish terms were formed upon the English word. To give a third instance, Mr. Johnson and Mr. R. Warner deduce Argosie from the ship Argo; the authors of the Monthly Review incline rather to think it comes from the old Italian, in which any thing watchful or vigilant was termed an Argo, from Juno's spy, Argus. But now, there is a third etymology, which may seem as plausible as either of the above, for in Sir P. Rycaut's Survey of the Ottoman Empire it is suggested, that this sea vessel might be denominated from the little republic of Ragusa, Argosie being only a transposition of Ragusie.

Yours, &c.

Derbyshire, Aug. 15. T. Row.
1768, *Sept.*

Further thoughts on the Peg-Tankard.

UNWILLING as I was to extend the former memoir to an indecent and inconvenient length, I chose to drop it where I did with a design of resuming it.

It has been shewn that the *Peg-Tankard*, or in this case the *Pin-Tankard*, was very early, and also very generally known amongst us, and therefore it is most natural to think, that allusions to it would not be uncommon in our ordinary discourse. It is a saying with us, *that a person is in a merry pin*; this, I conceive, was borrowed from the tankard, being as much as to say, he has drank to such a *pin* as to make himself chearful and merry. Another expresion is, *to take a person a peg lower*, by which we mean to humble or abase him, in like manner as the liquor is made to diminish, by a *peg* at a time, in the tankard. Mons. Du Fresne in his Gloss. v. Pinna, cites archbishop Anselms's canon of A.D. 1102. *Nec ad pinnas bibant*, and conjectures, 'forte legendum *pilas*,' because *pila* he finds signifies sometimes *taberna*, a tavern, or drinking house. But this is a most unhappy conjecture, as the sense is so plain and intelligible without it, and that all the MSS. agree in writing *Pinnas*; and so Mr. Johnson, in his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, &c. translates the canon without scruple, "that priests go not to drinking bouts, *nor drink to pegs*." However, Sir, as this Frenchman,

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and I may add the Benedictines, who have suffered his conjecture to pass without animadversion, knew little of ale, nor ever saw one of these tankards in their lives, they are entirely excusable, to do them justice, upon this head.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

T. Row.

1768, *Oct.*

LXIV. On the General Use and Introduction of Tobacco.

I Often think it very wonderful, Mr. Urban, that a thing so unnatural as the use of tobacco in smoaking, should prevail so generally over the face of the whole earth. I call it unnatural, because nothing seems to lead to it, that to many it is most disagreeable, and that others find it so difficult to learn it, whilst some, after many repeated trials, can never master it at all. And yet you find the practice of smoaking tobacco in the north, and in the south, in the east, and in the west. In those immense regions of Siberia and Tartary, China, Japan, Indostan, Persia, Africa, America, and almost universally in the continent and islands of Europe. In most places, the usage is common to all ranks, and to both sexes.

The Chinese pretend they have known the use of tobacco many ages*, and for what length of time the Americans have had it amongst them, cannot, I suppose, be discovered, but most anciently without doubt; possibly they might bring it with them from the east, from Tartary, when first they migrated from thence to the continent of America. To be a little more particular, as to its introduction amongst us; Stow says, tobacco was brought into England about the 20 Eliz. or 1578, and that "Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought tobacco in use, when all men wondered what it meant." But afterwards, in the same page he tells us, "tobacco was first brought, and made known in England by Sir John Hawkins, about the year 1565†, but not used by Englishmen in many years after, though at this day commonly used by most men, and many women." This was about the year 1631, in the reign of James I. when, however, the use of the herb was under disgrace, Stow, in the index,

* Bell's Travels, II. p. 68.

† Dr. Brookes says it is called tobacco from the island of Tobago, from whence it was brought in the year 1560. But quære, as to the date.

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calling it "a stinking weed so much abused to God's dishonour." But the king himself also greatly discountenanced the use of it, and even wrote against it; and the gentleman who made the following will was heartily desirous, as it should seem, of concurring with his majesty in suppressing its use. Peter Campbell, a Derbyshire gentleman, made his will 20 Oct. 1616, and therein has the following very extraordinary clause, "Now for all such houshold goods at Darley, whereof John Hoson hath an inventory, my will is, that my son Roger shall have them all toward houskeepinge, on this condition, that yf at any time hereafter, any of his brothers or sisters* shall fynd him *takeing of tobacco*, that then he or she so fynding him, and making just prooffe thereof to my executors, shall have the said goods, or the full valewe thereof, according as they shall be praysed, which said goods shall presently after my death be valewed and praysed by my executors for that purpose."

I am, Sir, &c.

1769, *April*. T. Row.

LXV. Great Entertainments given by Archbishop Parker at Canterbury, extracted from Strype's Life of that Prelate.

ARCHBISHOP Parker, who was advanced to the See of Canterbury in 1559, visited his Cathedral and diocese in 1560, 1565, 1570, and 1573.

In 1564 he finished the repairs of his noble palace and great hall at Canterbury, both being in decay, partly by fire and partly by time, which cost him above 1400l. which is equal to near ten times that sum in these days. This hall, built by Archbishop Hubert, in the 12th century, was famous in history for the great feasts that had been made there by Archbishops and Abbots in former times; in particular, at the nuptial feasts of King Edward I. in 1290, at the installation of the Abbot of St. Austin's in 1309; at the inthronization of George Nevill, Archbishop of York, in 1464; and of Archbishop Warham, in 1504, when Edward duke of Buckingham acted as Lord High Steward of his Household; and lastly, for the entertainment given by that Archbishop in 1519 to the Emperor Charles V. Henry VIII. Queen Catherine, &c.

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*There were five brothers and three sisters, so that he would have had many eyes upon him.

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In 1565 Archbishop Parker gave three entertainments in this hall at Whitsuntide (which lasted three days) on Trinity Sunday, and in assize-time. At the two first of these the Archbishop himself sat in the midst of the uppermost table; on his left hand the Mayor, &c. and so on one side of the hall a continued row of men according to their rank filled the other tables; and on his right hand sat only some noble women and ladies of quality, the whole length of the hall, corresponding to the row of men on the other side; which order of placing the women was observed in honour of the Queen. The first rank of guests being risen, and the tables cleared, they were furnished again and filled the second time. At the last feast which was grander then all the rest, the Archbishop entertained the two Judges who went that circuit,* the Attorney-general, the High-sheriff, with all who met at these assizes, as Justices of the Peace, Advocates, and common Lawyers, and all the rest of Proctors and Attornies; who all (with a promiscuous company) in troops came in. The hall was set forth with much plate of silver and gold, adorned with rich tapestry of Flanders, and dainties of all sorts were served in excellent order by none but the Archbishop's servants, the table being often the same day furnished afresh with new guests. While the ladies were nobly entertained in inner parlours by Mrs. Parker, the hall being now filled only with gentlemen. Otherwise, at these feasts it was the Archbishop's custom, in honour of matrimony, to entertain both men and their wives. Of this noble hall and palace, now within 200 years, there is little or nothing left except a few ruins.

On Whitsunday 1570, and the two following days, this Archbishop feasted the citizens of Canterbury and their wives in the same manner as he had done before; and on Trinity Sunday (after consecrating Bishop Curteis of Chichester) he made another most Archiepiscopal Feast, inviting another Archbishop, (viz. Grindal of York, who came thither for confirmation) to be his guest; besides whom were present Horn, Bishop of Winchester, and Curteis aforesaid of Chichester. At the lower tables sat all the ministers and servants whatsoever, even the children, who belonged to that church; and at the remotest tables, but in the same hall, in sight, sat the poor of both sexes of the hospitals of St. John's and Harbledown. On July 11,

* This proves that the judges of Assize then came to Canterbury, though it was then a County in itself, being so made in 1461.

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being assizes-time, the Judges, High Sheriff, Gentlemen and the common sort, were all feasted by the Archbishop in a splendid manner, as before. Soon after Bishop Sandys, of Worcester, elect of London, came to Canterbury to be confirmed. The Archbishop, on his return, lodged the first night at Sittingbourn, and the next night (after dining at Gravesend) came to Lambeth in barges by the Thames, with all his family.

Sept. 7, 1573, being Q. Elizabeth's birth-day, Archbishop Parker entertained her Majesty, and as many Noblemen, &c. as were present at Archbishop Warham's entertainment in the same hall 54 years before. The Archbishop (to use his own words, in a letter to Archbishop Grindal, of York) "met her Highness as she was coming to Dover, upon Folkstone Down. I left her at Dover, and came home to Bekesburn that night; and after that went to Canterbury to receive her Majesty there. Which I did, with the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester and my Suffragan [of Dover] at the west door. Where, after the Grammarian had made his oration to her upon her horseback, she alighted. We then kneeled down, and said the Psalm, *Deus misereatur*, in English; with certain other Collects briefly; and that in our chimers and rochets. The Quire, with the Dean and Prebendaries, stood on either side of the church, and brought her Majesty up with a square song, she going under a canopy, borne by four of her temporal Knights, to her traverse placed by the communion board. Where she heard even-song, and after departed to her lodging at St. Austin's, whither I waited upon her. From thence I brought certain of the council, and divers of the court, to my house to supper, and gave them 14 or 15 dishes, furnished with two mess, at my long table; whereat sat about 20. And in the same chamber a third mess, at a square table, whereat sat 10 or 12. My less hall having three long tables furnished with my officers, and with the guard, and others of the court. And so her Majesty came every Sunday to church to hear the sermon; and upon one Monday it pleased her Highness to dine in my great hall thoroughly furnished with the Council, Frenchmen, Ladies, Gentlemen, and the Mayor of the town, with his Brethren, &c. Her Highness sitting in the midst, having two French Ambassadors [Gondius, and Mothe-Fenelon] at the end of the table, and four Ladies of Honour at the other end. And so three mess were served by her Nobility at waiting, her Gentlemen and Guard bringing her dishes, &c." On which the Archbishop of York, in his answer, made this reflection: "Your Grace's large des-

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cription of the entertainment at Canterbury, did so lively set forth the matter, that in reading thereof, I almost thought myself to be one of your guests there, and as it were beholding the whole order of all things done there. Sir, I think it shall be hard for any of our coat to do the like for one hundred years, and how long after God knoweth."

In this progress Lord Treasurer Burghley was lodged with Mr. Pearson, the eleventh Prebendary, who, the Archbishop says, "had a fine house," [now Dr. Curteis's.]

1770, *Aug.*

LXVI. Account of the ancient Palaces and Houses belonging to the See of Canterbury, from Strype, Lambard, &c.

1. THE Manor of Bekesburn, anciently called Livingsburn, was given to Christ Church, Canterbury, after the year 1400. Thomas Goldstone, a Prior of that Church, and a great Builder, in 1508, built the Manor-house for a Mansion for the Priors, and a Chapel annexed, and a new Hall adjoining to the Dormitory, and several other edifices there. At the dissolution this was alienated, and given to Sir John Gage, comptroller of the King's houshold, who exchanged it with Abp. Cranmer for the Manor of Bishopsburn, and so it returned to the Church again from whence it had been for some time severed; only the owners changed. Bekesburn was healthfully and conveniently seated, lying an easy distance from Canterbury, whensoever the Archbishops were minded to be retired. Abp. Cranmer made considerable buildings there, and probably would have done more, had he continued in his prelacy. In the year 1552 he finished the Gate house, still standing, as appears from the north and south sides thereof, wherein are two stones, set in the brick-work, with the letters of his name, T. C. and coat of arms, and motto, NOSCE TE IPSUM ET DEUM; together with the date 1552. Abp. Cranmer appropriated his Manor house and his parsonage-barn here for harbour and lodgings for the poor, sick, and maimed soldiers that came from the wars of Bologne, &c. appointing them an almoner, a physician, and a surgeon; besides the common alms of his houshold that were bestowed on the poor of the country. Archbishop Parker took great delight in this palace, and in 1572, added the last finishing strokes to it. On the great gate are the arms of Parker alone, and the date 1572, and

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this lable about the crest, MUNDUS TRANSIT ET CONCUPISCENTIA EJUS; all of them cut in wood; which makes it probable, that this Archbishop, besides what buildings or reparations he made here, did the inward work, the gates, the doors, the wainscot, &c. Abp. Abbot, of later times, lived in Bekesburn some years, and preached in the parish-church there on Sunday mornings; of which they had a pleasant story: that there were two country fellows met; the one told the other he was making haste to Bekesburn church, where he was told a great man preached; he thought it was Sir Henry Palmer, who was the greatest man he knew in the parish. This palace was demolished in the year 1658, and no part of it is left standing at this day, but only a long row of plain brick building, called, THE GATE-HOUSE [now Mr. Peckham's] which was the entrance into the palace. The very foundations of all the rest are digged up. Out of the materials of this palace some other houses were built not far off. On some stones whereof still remain the arms of Christ Church, Canterbury; and in the glass windows may be seen the rebus of Thomas Goldstone, the prior.

2. FORD, in the parish of Chislet, the most ancient seat of the Archbishops, was also pulled down in 1658, and the brick, timber, and other materials sold. Here was also a large park. Archbishop Cranmer often resided there, though the situation is not healthy.

3. MAIDSTONE Palace was given by William de Cornwall, to Archbishop Langton. It now belongs to Lord Romney.

4. At CHARING was an ancient seat, much augmented by Archbishop Morton. The ruins are still remaining.

5. SALTWOOD-Castle, near Hythe, built by the Romans, was given to the See of Canterbury in 1036, and was much beautified and enlarged by Archbishop Courtney, who also inclosed a park about it, and made it his usual place of residence. It now belongs to Sir Brook Bridges, and is venerable in decay.

6. At ALDINGTON was a fair seat, much enlarged by Archbishop Morton. It had also a park and chace for deer, called ALDINGTON FRITH. The great Erasmus was rector of this parish, being presented to it by Archbishop Warham.

7. At WINGHAM was a good house, where Archbishop Winchelsea entertained and lodged King Edward I. And Archbishop Reynolds in 1324, entertained King Edward II. The Manor is now Earl Cowper's.

8. WROTHAM-House was pulled down by Archbishop Islip, and the materials employed in finishing Maidstone

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palace. At this house, in 1183, Archbishop Richard, (Becket's successor) had such a terrible dream, that the fright occasioned his death. The Manor annexed now belongs to William James, Esq.

9. At TEYNHAM was an ancient seat, where Archbishop Hubert died in 1221. The Manor is now Lord Teynham's.

10. KNOWLE (near Sevenoak) was left to the See of Canterbury by Archbishop Bourchier, who added much to its magnificence. Archbishop Morton also built here. It is now the seat of the Duke of Dorset.

11. OTFORD was a magnificent palace, built by Archbishop Warham, at 3*l*,000*l*. expence, he having taken offence at the citizens of Canterbury, where otherwise he designed to have built such a stately palace as should have been a lasting monument of his great wealth and glory.

All the above, with the Manors belonging to them, (Bekesburn excepted) were exchanged by Archbishop Cranmer with King Henry VIII. for other lands, "To extinguish the passions of such as looked with regret and desire upon the patrimony of the church."

12. CANTERBURY-Palace, given to the See by Archbishop Lanfranc, and afterwards rebuilt by Archbishops, Hubert, Boniface, Langton and Parker, was destroyed in the time of the usurpation.

So that the Archbishops have now no Palace or House remaining in their own Diocese, and only Lambeth and Croydon out of it, both of which are in the Diocese of Winchester.

1770, *Nov.*

LXVII. On the ancient manner of taking refuge for Murder or Felony in the Cinque Ports. Extracted from Mr. James Hammond's Collections of the Antiquities of Dover, Folio 14 and 15. From the Customall of the Cinque Ports. Corrected and amended in the Reigns of Henry the 7th and 8th.

AND when any shall flee into the church or church yard for felony, claiming thereof the privilege, for any action of his life, the head officer of the same liberty, where the said church or church-yard is, with his fellow-jurats, or coroners of the same liberty, shall come to him, and shall ask him the cause of being there, and if he will not confess felony, he shall be had out of the said sanctuary; and if he will confess felony, immediately it shall be entered in record, and his goods and chattles, shall be forfeited, and he shall tarry there forty days, or before, if he will, he shall make his abjuration in form following, before the head-officer, who

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shall assign to him the port of his passage, and after his abjuration, there shall be delivered unto him by the head-officer, or his assignees, a cross, and proclamation shall be made, that while he be going by the highway towards the port to him assigned, he shall go in the King's peace, and that no man shall grieve him in so doing, on pain to forfeit his goods and chattles; and the said felon shall lay his right hand on the book and swear this:—"You hear Mr. Coroner, that I, A. B. a thief, have stolen such a thing, or have killed such a woman, or man, or a child, and am the King's felon; and for that I have done many evil deeds and felonies in this same his land, I do abjure and forsware the lands of the King's of England, and that I shall haste myself to the port of Do. which you have given or assigned me; and that I shall not go out of the highway; and if I do, I will that I shall be taken as a thief, and the King's felon; and at the same place I shall tarry but one ebb and flood, if I may have passage; and if I cannot have passage in the same place, I shall go every day into the sea to my knees, and above, attempting myself to go every day to my knees, and above, crying, *Passage for the love of God, and King* N *his sake;* and if I may not within forty days together, I shall get me again into the church, as the King's felon.

So God me help and by this book according to your judgment."

And if a Clerk, flying to the church for felony, affirming himself to be a Clerk, he shall not abjure the realm, but yielding himself to the laws of the realm, shall enjoy the liberties of the church, and shall be delivered to the ordinary, to be safe kept in the convict prison, according to the laudable custom of the realm of England.

1771, *Aug.*

LXVIII. Artifice of the Thong in founding Cities and Castles exploded.

MR. URBAN,

THE story goes, that Dido or Eliza, upon her arrival in Africa, after her flight from Tyre, purchased as much land of the natives of the former place as she could cover or rather inclose, with an ox's hide; and thereupon cut the hide into thongs, and included a much larger space than the sellers expected; and that from thence the place, which afterwards became the citadel of Carthage, was called *Bursa*, Bursa signifying an ox's hide. This tale, which is either related or alluded to by Appian and Dionysius the Geographer,

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amongst the Greeks, and by Justin, Virgil, Silius Italicus, and others of the Latins, has no foundation, I apprehend, in the truth of history, and indeed is generally exploded by the learned. However, let us see how later writers have conducted themselves in respect thereof; it was a subtle pleasing artifice, and they were very unwilling not to make use of it, for the embellishment of their respective works.

First, Sigebert, Monk of Gemblours, who flourished A. 1100, has applied it to Hengist, the first Saxon King of Kent, saying, that the place purchased of the British King, and inclosed by him, was called *Castellum Corrigiæ* or the *Castle of the Thong*; but now, there being several more of the name of *Thong* or *Tong* in England, as in Kent, Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and Yorkshire, (Doncaster being writen in Saxon Thongeceaster,) the story has been applied to most, if not all of them;* and with equal justice, being probably false in regard to them all. It is true, Sigebert knew nothing of the Greek author above-mentioned, but then he was well acquainted with Justin and Virgil; and the same may be said of Jeffrey of Monmouth, A. 1159, who has the same story, and, if he followed not Sigebert, which is highly probable, took it from one of the Latin authors.

Secondly, Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote about A. 1170, has applied the story to Ivarus,† making him use the same artifice in respect of Hella, and by that means getting a footing in Britain, which he became master of for two years.‡ Saxo might take it either from Jeffrey or Sigebert; or Justin, if you please, as he made great use of this author. We can account very rationally, you observe, Mr. Urban, for the proceedings of these three authors, Sigebert, Jeffrey, and Saxo Grammaticus, but what shall we say, thirdly, to an affair of the like kind in the East Indies? "There is a tradition," Hamilton says, p. 136. "that the Portuguese circumvented the King of Guzerat, as Dido did the Africans, when they gave her leave to build Carthage, by desiring no more ground to build their cities then could be circumscribed in an ox's hide, which having obtained, they cut into a fine thong of a great length, &c." The Indians knew nothing of the authors above-mentioned, nor probably did those Portuguese who first made the settlement at Diu. I am of opinion, therefore, that as Hamilton calls it only a

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* See Lambarde's Topograph. Dict. p. 86. Camden Col. 569.

† It is a bad omen, that these authors do not agree in the person any more than others do in respect of the place.

‡ Saxo Gram. p. 176.

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Tradition, this Tradition was set on foot long after the time, and perhaps by some of the first missionaries that went thither, who, we may suppose, had often heard or read of the like fabulous narrations in Europe, and accordingly invented this at Guzerat for the amusement of their countrymen.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

1771, *Nov.* T. Row.

LXIX. Account of the Burning and Rebuilding of the Church at Canterbury, in the year 1174. From the Latin of Gervase, one of the Monks, who was an eye-witness.

ON the 5th of September, in the year of Grace 1174, about 9 o'clock, the wind blowing from the south with a fury almost beyond conception, a fire broke out before the church gate, by which three small houses were almost burnt down. While the citizens were there employed in extinguishing the flames, the sparks and ashes, whirled aloft by the violence of the storm, were lodged on the church, and, by the force of the wind, insinuating themselves between the joints of the lead, settled on the planks which were almost rotten, and thus, by degrees, the heat increasing, the decayed joists were set on fire; but the finely-painted cieling underneath, and the lead covering above, concealed the flames. Meantime, the three small houses being pulled down, the people returned home. No one being yet apprized of the fire in the church, the sheets of lead began by degrees to melt; and, on a sudden, the flames just appearing, there was a great cry in the church-yard, "Alas! alas! the church is on fire." Many of the laity ran together with the monks, to draw water, to bring axes, to mount ladders, all eager to succour Christ Church now just on the point of destruction. They reached the roof, but behold! all was filled with a horrible smoak and a scorching flame. In despair, therefore, they were obliged to consult their own safety by retiring. And now, the joints of the rafters being consumed, the half-burnt timbers fell into the choir; the seats of the monks were set on fire, and on all sides the calamity increased. In this conflagration, that glorious choir made a wonderful and awful appearance. The flames ascended to a great height, and the pillars of the church were damaged or destroyed. Great numbers applied to the

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ornaments of the church, and tore down the palls and hangings, some to steal, others to preserve them. The chests of relics, thrown from the lofty beam upon the pavement, were broken, and the relics scattered; but, lest they should be consumed, they were collected and laid up by the brethren. Some there were, who, inflamed with a wicked and diabolical avarice, saved the goods of the church from the fire, but did not scruple to carry them away. Thus the house of God, hitherto delightful like a paradise of pleasure, then lay contemptible in the ashes of the fire. The people, astonished, and in a manner frantic for grief, tore their hair, and uttered some enormous reproaches against the Lord and his saints, namely, the patrons of the church. There were laymen, as well as monks, who would rather have died than have seen the church of God so miserably perish; for not only the choir, but also the infirmary, with St. Mary's Chapel, and some other offices of the Court*, were reduced to ashes. The calamities of Canterbury were no less lamentable than those of Jerusalem of old under the tears and lamentations of Jeremiah. The grief and distress of the sons of the church were so great, that no one can conceive, relate, or write them; but, to relieve their miseries, they fixed the altar, such as it was, in the nave of the church, where they howled, rather than sung, matins and vespers. The patrons of the church, St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, were, with incredible grief and anguish, taken from their tombs, and placed, as decently as possible, in the nave of the church, at the altar of the holy cross. Meanwhile, the brethren consulted how, and by what method, the ruined church might be repaired. Architects, both French and English, were therefore assembled: but they disagreed in their opinions; some undertook to repair, while others, on the contrary, affirmed that the whole church must be taken down, if the monks wished to dwell in safety. This, though true, overwhelmed them with grief. Among the architects there was one William of Sens, a man of great abilities, and a most curious workman in wood and stone. Neglecting the rest, him they chose for the undertaking. Patiently, though not willingly, they agreed to take down the ruined choir. Attention was given to the procuring stones from abroad. He made most ingenious machines for loading and unloading ships, for drawing the mortar and stones. He delivered, also, to the masons who were assembled, models for cutting the stones;

* Now called the Green Court.

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and, in like manner, he made many other preparations. The choir, therefore, devoted to destruction, was taken down, and nothing more was done for the whole first year. . . . In the year ensuing, Master William erected four pillars, two on each side. Winter being over, he placed two more, that on either side there might be three in a row; upon which, and the other wall of the aisles, he neatly turned arches and a vault; that is, three keys on each side. By the key I mean the whole roof, as the key placed in the middle seems to close and strengthen the parts on each side. This was the employment of the second year.

In the third year, he placed two pillars on each side, the two last of which he decorated with marble columns; and, because the choir and the crosses were there to meet, he made them the principal. On them key-stones being placed, and an arch turned, from the great tower as far as the before-mentioned pillars, that is, as far as the cross, he introduced in the lower cloyster several marble colums; above which he made another cloyster of different materials, and upper windows; after that, three keys of a great arch, namely, from the lower to the crosses: all which seemed to us, and to every one, inimitable, and in the highest degree praise worthy.

Thus the third year ended, and the fourth began; in the summer of which, beginning at the cross, he erected ten pillars, that is, five on each side. Adorning the two first, opposite to the two others, with marble columns, he made them the principal. On those ten he placed arches and vaults. Both the cloysters and the upper windows being finished, while he was preparing his machines for turning the great arch, at the beginning of the fifth year, the scaffold on a sudden gave way, and he came to the ground from the height of the crown of the upper arch, which is fifty feet. Being grievously bruised, he was utterly unable to attend to the work. No one but himself received the least hurt. Either the vengeance of God, or the envy of the Devil, wreaked itself on him alone. Master William, being thus hurt, entrusted the completion of the work to a certain ingenious monk who was overseer of the rough masons; which occasioned him much envy and ill-will. The architect, nevertheless, lying in bed, gave orders what was first, and what last, to be done. A roof, therefore, was made between the four principal pillars; at the key of which roof the choir and the crosses seem, in a manner, to meet. Two roofs, also, one on each side, were made before winter; but the weather, being extremely rainy, would not suffer

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more to be done. In the fourth year there was an eclipse of the sun on the 6th of September, at six o'clock, a few months before the architect's accident. At length, finding no benefit from the skill and attention of his surgeons, he gave up the work, and, crossing the sea went home to France.

In the summer of the fifth year, another William, an Englishman, succeeded the first William in the care of the work; a man of a diminutive stature, but in various ways extremely ingenious and honest. He finished both the north and the south cross, and turned the roof which is over the high altar, which, when every thing was prepared, could not be done the year before, on account of the rains. At the east end, also, he laid the foundation of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, where St. Thomas first solemnized mass, and used to indulge himself in tears and prayers, in the undercroft of which he had been so many years buried, where GOD, through his merits, wrought many miracles, where rich and poor, kings and princes, worshipped him, from whence the sound of his praise went forth into all the world. In digging this foundation, Master William was obliged to take out the bones of several holy monks, which, being carefully collected, were re-interred in a large trench, in the angle between the chapel and the infirmary towards the south. This done, and the foundation of the outer wall being made extremely strong of stone and mortar, he built the wall of the undercroft as high as the bases of the windows. This was the business of the fifth year, and the beginning of the sixth; but the spring of this now approaching, and the season of working being at hand, the monks were inflamed with a most eager desire to prepare the choir, so that they might enter it at the next Easter. The architect used his utmost efforts to fulfil the wishes of the convent. He also built the three altars of the chancel. He carefully prepared a place of rest for St. Dunstan* and St. Elphege†. A wooden wall, too, for keeping out the weather was placed across the east end, between the last pillars but one, containing three windows. They were desirous to enter the choir, though with great labour and too much haste it was scarcely prepared, on Easter Eve. But because every thing that was to be done on that sabbath day, could not, on account of that solemnity, be fully done in a proper, decent manner, it was necessary that

* Dunstan died in 988.

† Elphege was stoned to death by the Danes at Greenwich, in 1012.

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the holy fathers, our patrons, St. Dunstan and St. Elphege, the fellow-exiles of the monks, should be removed before that day into the new choir. Prior Alan, therefore, taking with him nine brethren of the church on whom he could rely, lest there should be any disturbance or inconvenience, went one night to the tombs of the Saints, and, locking the doors of the church, gave directions to take down the shrine which surrounded them. The monks and the servants of the church, in obedience to the commands of the prior, took down that structure, opened the stone coffins of those Saints, and took out their relics, and carried them into the vestry. Taking out also the vestments in which they were wrapped, by length of time in a great measure decayed, they covered them with more decent palls, and bound them with linen girdles. The Saints thus prepared were carried to their altars, and placed in wooden coffins, inclosed in lead. The coffins, also, strongly bound with iron hoops, were secured with stone tombs, soldered in molten lead*. Queen Ediva†, also, who, after the fire, was placed under the altar of the holy cross, was in like manner carried into the vestry. These things were transacted on the Thursday before Easter, namely, on the 17th day of April.

Next day, when this translation of the Saints came to the knowledge of the whole convent, they were greatly surprised and offended, as this was presumptuously done without the concurrence of the convent; for they had proposed (as was proper) to translate these fathers with great and devout solemnity. They therefore summoned the prior, and those who were with him, before the venerable Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, on account of the injury presumptuously offered to them and to the holy patrons of the church. Matters were carried to such a length, that both the prior and those who were with him were very near being obliged to resign their offices; but, by the mediation of the Archbishop and other persons of consequence, a proper satisfaction and submission being previously made, the convent was prevailed upon to forgive them. Harmony, therefore, being restored between the prior and the convent on the holy

* In Henry the VIIth's reign (1508) five hundred and twenty years after Dunstan's death, on a pretence that he lay at Glastonbury, Archbishop Warham had his tomb opened, and his body was found just as Gervase here describes it. His skull was then set in silver, and preserved as a relic. The tomb was taken down at the Reformation.

† The Mother of King Eadrid.

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Sabbath, the Archbishop, in his cope and mitre, went at the head of the convent in their surplices, according to the custom of the church, to the new altar, and, having blessed it, he with a hymn entered the new choir. Coming to that part of the church which is opposite to the martyrdom of St. Thomas, he took from one of the monks the pyx with the eucharist which used to hang over the high altar, which the Archbishop with great reverence carried to the high altar of the new choir. The other offices of that festival were, as is usual on that day, solemnly and devoutly performed. This being over, the mitred prelate standing at the altar, the bells ringing, began Te Deum. The convent with great joy of heart joining in the hymn, praised GOD for the benefits conferred, with shouting hearts and voices, together with grateful tears. The convent was by the flames expelled from the choir, like Adam out of paradise, in the year of GOD's word 1174, in the month of September, on the 5th day of the month, about nine o'clock. The convent remained in the nave of the church five years, seven months, thirteen days. It returned into the new choir in the year of grace 1180, in the month of April, on the nineteenth day of the month, about nine o'clock, on Easter Eve.

Our architect had built, without the choir, four altars, where the bodies of the holy Archbishops were replaced as they were of old, as has been mentioned above: at the altar of St. Martin, Living* and Wilfred; at the altar of St. Stephen, Athelard† and Cuthbert; in the south cross, at the altar of St. John, Elfric‡ and Ethelgar; at the altar of St. Gregory, Bregewin‖ and Phlegemund. Queen Ediva also, who, before the fire, had lain almost in the middle of the south cross, in a gilt coffin, was re-interred at the altar of St. Martin, under the coffin of Living. Besides this, in the same summer, that is, of the sixth year, the outer wall round the chapel of St. Thomas, begun before the preceding winter, was built as high as the spring of the arch. The architect had begun a tower on the east side, as it were, without the circuit of the wall, whose lower arch was finished before winter. The chapel, too, of the Holy Trinity, which was mentioned above, was pulled down

* Archbishop Living died in 1020, Wilfred in 831. The altars of St. Martin and St. Stephen were in the upper north aisle.

† Athelard died in 893, Cuthbert in 758.

‡ Elfric died in 1005, Ethelgar in 989. The altars of St. John and St. Gregory were in the upper south aisle.

‖ Bregewin died in 762, Phlegemund in 923.

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to the ground, having hitherto remained entire, out of reverence to St. Thomas, who lay in its undercroft. The bodies also of the saints, which had lain in the upper part of it, were translated to other places; but, lest the remembrance of what was done at their translation should be lost, a brief account shall be given of it. On the 25th of July, the altar of the Holy Trinity was broken, and of it was formed an altar of St. John the apostle. This I mention, lest the memory of this sacred stone should perish, because upon it St. Thomas sung his first mass, and afterwards frequently performed divine service there. The shrines too, which were built up behind the altar, were taken down, in which, it is said, St. Odo* and St. Wilfred† had a long time lain. These saints, therefore, taken up in their leaden coffins, were carried into the choir. St. Odo was placed in his coffin under that of St. Dunstan, and St. Wilfred under that of St. Elphege. Archbishop Lanfranc‡ was found in a very weighty sheet of lead, in which he had lain from the first day of interment, his limbs untouched, mitred, and pinned, to that hour, namely, sixty-nine years and some months. He was carried into the vestry, and replaced in his lead, till it was generally agreed what was proper to be done with so considerable a father. When the tomb of Archbishop Theobald‖, which was constructed of marble, was opened, and the stone coffin discovered, the monks who were present, thinking that he was reduced to dust, ordered wine and water to be brought, to wash his bones; but the upper stone of the coffin being removed, he appeared perfect and stiff, adhering together by the bones and nerves, and a small degree of skin and flesh. The spectators were surprised, and, placing him on the bier, thus carried him into the vestry to Lanfranc, that the convent might determine what was proper to be done with them both. Meanwhile the story was divulged abroad, and many, on account of his unusual preservation, stiled him St. Theobald. He was shewn to several, who were desirous to see him, by whom the account was transmitted to others. He was taken out of his tomb, his corps uncorrupted, his linen garments entire, in the nineteenth year after his death. By the order of the convent he was buried before the altar

* Odo died in 958.

† The body of Wilfred, Archbishop of York, was brought from Rippon, by Archbishop Odo. He died in 710.

‡ Lanfranc died in 1089.

‖ Theobald died in 1161.

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of St. Mary*, in the nave of the church, in a leaden chest, the place which he desired in his life-time. A marble tomb, as there was before, was also placed over him. Lanfranc, as I said above, was taken out of his coffin in the sheet of lead in which he had lain untouched from the day he was first buried to that hour, namely sixty-nine years; on which account, even his bones much decayed were almost all reduced to dust: for the length of time, the moisture of the clothes, the natural coldness of the lead, and, above all, the transitory condition of mortality, had occasioned this decay. However, the larger bones, collected with the other dust, were re-interred, in a leaden coffin, at the altar of St. Martin. The two Archbishops also, who lay in the undercroft, on the right and left of St. Thomas, were taken up, and were placed for a time in leaden coffins, under the altar of St. Mary, in the undercroft. The translations of these fathers being thus performed, that chapel, with its undercroft, was pulled down to the ground: St. Thomas alone reserved his translation till his chapel was finished†. In the mean time, a wooden chapel, proper enough for the time and place, was prepared over and round his tomb; without whose walls, the foundation being laid of stone and mortar, eight pillars of the new undercroft, with their capitals, were finished. The architect prudently opened an entrance from the old undercroft into the new one. With these works the sixth year ended, and the seventh began; but, before I pursue the business of this seventh year, I think it not improper to enlarge upon some things that have been mentioned, and to add others, which through negligence were forgotten, or for the sake of brevity omitted. It was said above, that, after the fire, almost all the old choir was taken down, and that it was changed into a new and more magnificent form. I will now relate what was the difference. The form of the pillars, both old and new, is the same, and the thickness the same, but the height different; for the new pillars are lengthened almost twelve feet. In the old capitals the workmanship was plain, in the new the sculpture is excellent. There was no marble column, here are many. There, in the circuit without the choir, the vaults are plain, here,

* St. Mary's altar was at the east end of the north aisle.

† This was in 1220, when this pretended saint was translated from the undercroft to his shrine, with great pomp, the King, Archbishop, &c. attending. The offerings that were made at his shrine enabled the monks to rebuild their church with such magnificence.

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they are arched and studded. There, the wall ranged on pillars, separated the crosses from the choir; but here, without any interval, the crosses, divided from the choir, seem to meet in one key, fixed in the midst of the great arch, which rests on the four principal pillars. There, was a wooden cieling, adorned with excellent painting; here, an arch neatly formed of light sandstone. There, was one balustrade; here, are two in the choir, and one in the aisle of the church. All which will be much more easily understood by seeing than by hearing. But it should be known, that the new building is as much higher than the old, as the upper windows both of the body of the choir and of its side exceed in height the marble arcade. But, lest it should hereafter be asked, why the great breadth of the choir near the tower is so much reduced at the top of the church, I think it not improper to mention the reasons. One of which is, that the two towers, namely St. Anselm's and St. Andrew's, formerly placed in a circle on each side of the church, prevented the breadth of the choir from proceeding in a straight line. Another reason is, that it was judicious and useful, to place the chapel of St. Thomas at the head of the church, where was the chapel of the Holy Trinity, which was much narrower than the choir. The architect, therefore, not willing to lose these towers, but not able to remove them entire, formed that breadth of the choir, as far as the confines of those towers, in a straight line. Afterwards, by degrees, avoiding the towers on both sides, and yet preserving the breadth of that passage which is without the choir as much as possible, on account of the processions which were frequently to be made there, he narrowed his work with a gradual obliquity, so as neatly to contract it over against the altar, and, from thence, as far as the third pillar, to reduce it to the breadth of the chapel of the Holy Trinity. After that, four pillars of the same diameter, but of a different form, were placed on both sides. After them, four others were placed circularly, at which the new work met. This is the situation of the pillars. But the outer circuit of the wall, proceeding from the above-mentioned towers, first goes in a right line, then bends in a curve, and thus both walls meet at the round tower, and there are finished. All these things may much more clearly and more agreeably be seen by the eye, than explained by speaking or writing. But they are mentioned, that the difference of the new work and the old may be distinguished. Let us now observe more attentively what or how much work our masons completed in this seventh year after the fire. To be brief,

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in the seventh year, the new undercroft, elegant enough, was finished, and, upon it, the outer walls of the aisles, as high as the marble capitals; but the architect neither could nor would turn the windows, on account of the approaching rains, nor place the inner pillars. With this the seventh year ended, and the eighth began. In this eighth year the architect placed eight inner pillars, and turned the arches and the vault, with the windows, circularly. He raised also the tower as high as the basis of the upper windows under the arch. The ninth year, the work was suspended for want of money. In the tenth year, the upper windows of the tower were finished with the arch: upon the pillars also the upper and lower ballustrade, with the windows and the larger arch: the upper roof too, where the cross is raised, and the roof of the aisles, as far as to the laying of the lead. The tower also was all covered in, and many other things were done this year.—In this year also (1184) Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, was translated to the see of Canterbury, Dec. 18.

1772, *June, July, August.*

LXX. Conjectures as to the time of dividing Parishes.

Mr. URBAN,

OUR celebrated historian, Mr. Hume, in his first vol. p. 76, edition of 1767, tells us, that parishes were instituted in England by Honorius, the fifth Archbishop of Canterbury; by which he means the present ecclesiastical divisions of dioceses, committed to the care of the inferior clergy. This opinion, though countenanced by many learned writers, is very problematical, if not intirely false, and seems to have been deduced from the equivocal signification of the word parochia, which anciently meant a bishopric, or diocese, as well as a less parish. Thus, Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 7, says, that Cenwalchus, King of the West Saxons, divisit provinciam in duas parochias, when he made Winchester an episcopal see, which he took out of the diocese of Dorchester: and, in the council of Hertford, held under Archbishop Theodore, there is this canon, "Ut nullus episcoporum parochiam alterius invadat, sed contentus sit gubernatione creditæ sibi plebis." Florence of Worcester, at the year 680, says, that "Merciorum provincia in quinque parochias est divisa," that is, into five bishoprics. This opinion, that Honorius divided England

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into parishes, is thus related by Joscelin, in his lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury: "Neque solum episcopus tanquam superiores turrium custodes ecclesiæ superimposuit, sed etiam provinciam suam primus in parochias dividens, inferiores ministros ordinavit." If the author means here the limits assigned to the clergy, whom the bishop, at stated times, sent from his cathedral to preach within the bounds of his diocese, then Honorius was not the first that made this division of them. These parochiæ, or circuits of preaching, which the Bishop appointed to his clergy, who usually resided with him at his cathedral, were almost as old as bishopricks, and were certainly coeval with churches, which, it is plain, were erected in England before the time of Honorius. If parochiæ be supposed to mean the limits of parishes, as they are now bounded, both in regard of the revenue, and the residence and function of the incumbent, this is plainly repugnant both to the community of ecclesiastical revenues, and the manner of the bishop and his clergy living together, which, as appears from Bede, continued in England after the death of Honorius. Nevertheless, it may be properly said, that Honorius was the first under whom this province was divided into such parochiæ, or bishoprics; because, except Canterbury, London, and Rochester, which were founded nearly at the same time, there were no other episcopal sees in his province, till, under him, Birinus was made first bishop of the West Saxons, and Felix appointed first bishop of the East Angles. The erecting these two sees, of which there had been no example in the province of Canterbury from the death of Augustine till the time of Honorius, was probably the cause why Honorius is said to have first divided his province into parishes. And, indeed, if we were to suppose, that he first instituted parishes, according to the modern acceptation of the word, this regulation could not be extended to many of those parts of the kingdom which are now included in the province of Canterbury. For example, Christianity was not received in the kingdom of Sussex till the year 679, when that small kingdom was first converted by Wilfred, the first Bishop of Selsey.

I am yours,

Newport, Shropshire, July 3, 1772. S. W.

1772, *July.*

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LXXI. On Sirnames.

§ 1. *Cursory Observations on Sirnames deduced from Names of Places.*

MR. Camden will inform you, in his "Remains concerning Britain," that a large part of our Sirnames are borrowed from names of places. At first they were written, *Robert de Marisco, Anthony a Wood* or *at Wood* (whence our names of *Wood* and *Atwood*) *Richard de Gravesend*, &c. In process of time, the preposition, or connecting particle, was dropt, for the sake of currency and expedition, both in speaking and writing; and hence there has arisen a degree of obscurity in respect of this species of Sirnames; for, as these additional distinctions were sometimes taken from obscure villages, (obscure at least now) and known but to few, the original of the names of many persons is grown to be very intricate, and, indeed, entirely unknown to those who are not attentive to this mode of derivation. The following short list of Sirnames deduced from names of places, (short indeed, being only intended as a specimen, and containing only a few in each letter of the Alphabet) will be abundantly sufficient, both to explain my meaning, and to shew, that certain of our Sirnames, in appearance very singular, and even uncouth, have, nevertheless, a most natural and easy original, and also very obvious to those who happen to live near, or to be acquainted with the names of, the respective places.

It is possible, indeed, that, in here and there an instance, the village may take its name from the proprietor, quite contrary to the position laid down above; but this, I apprehend, happens very rarely, the names of the owners being usually conjoined with that of the village, being sometimes prefixed, and sometimes postponed, as *Monks Risborough, Newport Pagnel*, &c.

I observe, again, that some of our *Sirnames* or *Surnames* (for the word is written both ways) are taken from places abroad, *Percy, Danvers, Daws*, &c. others (though not many) from villages in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, which, nevertheless, are now become right and legitimate *English* Sirnames; but these I do not concern myself with at present, intending the list shall extend only to *English* towns and villages.

It may be observed, lastly, that, in all probability, the stocks of such families as are denominated from places, were all once formerly growing at the respective places

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whose names they bear; and, consequently, that such families sprung originally from thence.

Here follows our short list.

Annesly, Nott.
Ayskew, Yorksh.
Aldrich, Staff.
Arthington, York.
Aislabie, York.
Aglionby, Cumb.
Barrowby, Leic.
Biddulph, Staff.
Beresford, Staff.
Blackburn, Lanc.
Bowes, York.
Bernardiston, Suff.
Charlton, passim.*
Cave, Leic.
Crowle, York.
Cudworth, Surry.
Cholmondley, Chesh.
Crewe, Chesh.
Daintry, Northamp.
Dalton, passim.
Dacre, Cumb.
Dale, passim.
Danby, York.
Dart, Dev.
Ellerby, York.
Emerton, Bucks.
Eden, passim.
Enderby, Leic.
Egerton, Kent.
Elton, passim.
Fazakerly, Lanc.
Farewell, Staff.
Fetherstonhaugh, North.
Feckenham, Worc.
Frampton, Dorset.
Fulham, Middlesex.
Gisborne, Lanc.
Gray, Essex.
Goring, Sussex.
Green, passim.
Grafton, passim.
Gresham, Norf.
Hastings, Suss.
Holland, Lincoln.
Heath, York.
Horsemondon, Kent.
Hawkesworth, Nott.
Hooker, Lanc.
Ince, Chesh.
Islip, Oxon.
Ingleby, Linc.
Irby, Linc.
Inglefield, Berks.
Ireton, Derbysh.
Kirby, passim.
Kettlewell, York.
Kenton, Middlesex.
Kennet, Wilts.
Ketleby, Linc.
Kimber, Bucks.
Leake, Nott.
Layland, Lanc.
Lydgate, Suff.
Lumley, Durham.
Ladbrooke, Warw.
Lee, passim.
Milton, passim.
Middleton, passim.
Markham, Nott.
Musgrave, Westm.
Manby, Linc.
Marsh, passim.
Norton, passim.
Newton, passim.
Newbold, passim.
Newdigate, Surry.
Newnham, Gloc.
Narborough, Norf.
Otley, York.
Oldham, Lanc.

*N. B. Passim is here used generally, to signify that the name is common to all counties.

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Osbaldiston, Lanc.
Oglethorp, York.
Offey, Staff.
Okely, passim.
Pinchbeck, Linc.
Packington, Leic.
Pickering, York.
Paulet, Som.
Poynton, Chesh.
Pelham, Hertf.
Russel, Worc.
Raleigh, Essex.
Ratcliffe, Lanc.
Radford, Warw.
Radley, Berks.
Ramsey, Essex.
Stanhope, Durh.
Skelton, passim.
Stillingfleet, York.
Stukely, Hunt.
Shenstone, Staff.
Sutton, passim.
Thornhill, York.
Thornton, York.
Thoresby, York.
Trevor, Wales.
Tatton, Chesh.
Tylney, Nott.
Vernon, Chesh.
Upton, passim.
Urswick, Lanc.
Whitgift, York.
Walpole, Norf.
Wintringham, Linc.
Wentworth, York.
Willoughby, Linc.
Windham, Norf.
Yalden, Kent.
Yardly, Hertf.
Yarborough, Lincoln.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

1772, *March.* T. Row.

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§ 2. *Origin of Sirnames farther illustrated.*

Mr. URBAN,

I AM now going to point out to you another fruitful source of our present English Sirnames, viz. of Christian names converted, by the omission of *Filius* the *Latin*, and *Fitz* the *French*, into common Sirnames. These are, properly, what the Greeks and Romans called Patronymics; at least they possess much of the nature of them: and there are some of them very singular and uncouth to us at this day, insomuch that many are really at a loss for the original, and the etymology, of such grotesque appellations as Godscalch, Bagot, Thurstan, &c. The Saxons, our ancestors, made little use of Scripture na[illegible] *John, Thomas, &c.* so that their Christian names are extremely numerous, much more so then ours; and they seldom called a son by the name of his father, which was a right measure, as it prevented confusion of persons in many cases. Godwin, Earl of Kent, had six, or, according to some authors, seven sons, and yet not one of them bore his name. This circumstance, again, occasioned a further variety of names amongst them.

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The next observation is, that, in regard to the difference of orthography, some persons writing *Surname*, and others *Sirname*, they are both right, though not in the same respect. I shall explain this in few words: those, who write the term *Surname*, alledge, and they have reason, that this form, from the French *Surnome*, must be the true orthography; because this distinguishing name, which became perfectly necessary after the use of Scripture Christian names was introduced, and there were many *Johns* and *Thomas's* in the same place, was originally written over the Christian name, or added to it; either of which well justifies the sense of the prefix, *Sur*; and for this custom they vouch many instances from old rolls and records. Others, however, are equally right in giving it *Sirname*, or *Sirename*; because this so well expresses the nature of the thing, wherever the appellation comes from the name of the *Sire*, or ancestor, with *Fitz* or *Son* understood. Both, therefore, are proper, but upon different considerations. But you will say, are we, in writing correctly, to be always at the trouble of recollecting the original, and the nature of the name, when we are to express this addition, and to be perpetually considering whether we ought to write *Sirname* or *Surname*? I answer, there will be no occasion for this, gentlemen being at liberty to use which they please, since it will be always understood what it is they mean. Besides, that figure, which we call Catachresis, or an abuse of words, is readily admitted in all languages, and, in this case, is not only pardonable, but even reasonable. I shall add, thirdly, that many of the Sirnames, which I shall produce, appearing very odd and singular, those gentlemen that bear them, and have not thought upon the subject, will not be displeased, I flatter myself to see these appendages, so intimately united to themselves and their own persons, clearly decyphered, and, as it is hoped, in such manner, as may both gratify their curiosity and procure their amusement. And whoever, fourthly, will please to recollect what pains have been taken by Sigonius, Salmasius, Rosinus, and others, in regard to the Roman names, will incline to think, that no apology need be made for our producing the assemblage comprized in the following alphabet to the public; especially when it is remembered, that many *Roman Sirnames*, as we may stile them, were formed, as the antiquaries tell us, from their prænomina, as is exactly the case here; and that Mr. Camden, in his Remains, has actually omitted this large tribe of our English Sirnames. I add, lastly, that, in names that are not very obvious (I speak

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of Christian names) I shall produce examples, leaving the more common ones to approve themselves; and, as to the Sirnames, gentlemen will easily recollect families amongst their acquaintance of such names: and I make no question, that there are many more cases of the kind than I shall mention, it being not in the least pretended, that the catalogue I propose to give, though tolerably large, is by any means complete.

T. Row.

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§ 3. *List of Sirnames, with their Origin.*

Mr. Urban,

The alphabet I promised in your last number, and there referred to, goes as follows:

Amsel. Anselm, Abp. of Canterb.
Austin. Augustinus.
Allen. Alein, Chron. Sax. Alanus, Earl of Bretagne.
Awbrey. Alberic, fam. of Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Avery. the same.
Amory, or Emery. Hamalri. Chron. Sax. Almericus, or Almaricus, or Emericus.
Arnold. common.
Avis and Avice. Avisia, Hawisa, and Hawisia, names of women.
Anstis. Anastasius, Anastatia, Anstase.
Ayscough, or Askew. Asculphus.
Alphey. Alphege, Abp. of Canterb. Alpheg, Domesday.
Aldelur. Domesday-book.
Ancher. Ealchere, Chron. Sax. and Domesday.
Anger. Ansger. Domesday.
Bright. Briht, Chron. Sax.
Brand. Chron. Sax.
Baynard. Chron. Sax.
Bernard and Barnard. St. Bernard.
Bely. British.
Bennet. i. e. Benedict.
Brandon. Brendanus.
Baldwin. Abp. of Cant.
Bartram. Bertran, or Bertrand.
Brian. Chron. Sax.
Bardolph. A. Wood, Hist. p. 88, Domesday.
Bevis. Bogo in Latin. Bevis, of Southampton.
Blanch, or Blanc. Common name.
Blase. Bp. Blase.
Bagot. Domesday-book.
Baldric. Baldericus, Domesday.
Belcher, Beecher. Belchard, Domesday.
Berenger. Berengarius, a writer of the 11th century.
Berner. Bernerius, Domesday.
Bise. Biso, Domesday.
Blethin. British.
Chown. Chun, British.
Cuthbert. Saint at Durham.

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Clements. Common.
Coleman. Bede, and Chron. Sax.
Cradock. Caradoc, British.
Cadman. Cædmon, Sax. or Catamanus, British.
Christian. Common, woman's name.
Clare. St. Clara.
Cæsar.
Cnute, or Knowd. Canutus or Cnutus.
Carbonell. Domesday.
Chetell, Kettle. Ketellus, Domesday.
Colf. Colfius, Domesday.
Corbet. Domesday.
Corven, or Corwen. Domesday.
Crouch. Croce, Domesday.
Calf. Domesday.
Collins. Son of Collin.
Dudley. Common.
Dunstan. A Saint, Abp. of Cant.
Dennis. Dionysius, French Saint, St. Dennis.
Durand, or Durant. Durandus and Durantus.
Drew. Dru, Domesday. Drugo, or Drogo, Latin.
Degory. Common.
Duncan. Common in Scotland.
Dun. Chron. Sax. if not from the complection.
Ellis. Corruption of Elias.
Elmer. Ælmer, Chron. Sax. and Domesday.
Everet. Everard, bp. of Norwich, and fam. of Digby.
Edolph. Eadulph, Chron. Sax. and Domesday.
Emery. *v.* Amory.
Edwin. Common Saxon name.
Evans. Brit. for John.
Eachard. Wood, Hist. p. 58. Achard, Domesday.
Eddy. Domesday.
Egenulph. Domesday. Eugenulfus, fam. of Ferrers.
Ede. Eudo, Domesday.
Edem. Brit.
Etty. *v.* Eddy.
Fulk. Fulco. and Falcasius, Earl of Anjou.
Farant. Ital. and Fr. for Ferdinand.
Frederick and Ferry. Common.
Fabian. A. Pope, and in Domesday.
Fulcher. Dugd. Warw. p. 475. and Monast. ii. 231, 628.
Frewen. Freawine, Chron. Sax.
Giffard. Chron. Sax.
Gertrude. Common; a Saint.
Gethin. Brit. Gittin.
Godard. Common.
Goodman. Godman, Ingulph. p. 52.
Gerard, Gerald and Garret. Girard, Chron. Sax.
Gesil, or Sitsil. Brit.
Gerald. *v.* Gerard.
Garret. *v.* Gerard.
Gowen. Brit. *v.* Walwyn.
Godwyn. Earl, Temp. Edw. Conf.
Guy. Guido, or Wido. Chron. Sax.
German. A famous Saint.
Gladwin. Saxon.
Gunter. Ingulph. p. 101. A. Wood, Hist. p. 84.
Goody. Godiva, or Goditha, woman's name.
Godeschal. Godescallus. P. Blesensis, p. 120. Camden Col. CCLIX.

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Godrick. Domesday.
Griffith and Griffin. Brit.
Gamlin. Domesday and Chaucer.
Gamble. Gamel, Sax.
Girth. A brother of Harold's.
Goslin, or Gowling, or Joscelin. Gotcelinus.
Goodluck. Godlucus, Doomsday.
Grimes. Domesday. Hence *Grimsby*, com. Linc.
Grimbald. A saint. Grimbaldus, Domesday.
Guncelin. Domesday.
Guthlake. St. Guthlac, Domesday.
Heward. Domesday.
Hesketh. Askaeth and Hascuith, Domesday. So Hascoit and Hasculph, in fam. of Musard.
Herbert. Chron. Sax.
Harvey and Hervey. Bishop of Ely. Skelton, and fam. of Bagot.
Hibbert and Hubbard. Hubert.
Hubald. Domesday.
Hamond. Hamo, common.
Harman and Herman. Chron. Sax.
Huldrick. Domesday.
Harold. Kings of England.
Hoel and Howel. Brit.
Hanselin. Ancelin, Domesday.
Hode and Hood. Odo or Oddo. abp. of Cant. and bp. of Baieux. *v.* Otes, below; and Ottey.
Hake. Haco, and Hacun. Chron. Sax.
Hamelin. Domesday. and Dugd. Bar. 1. p. 75.
Harding. Domesday, and Ingulph. p. 87.
Hasting. Domesday.
Herebrand. Domesday.
Herward. Chron. Sax.
Howard. Domesday.
Jennet. Woman's name, common in France.
Jeffry. Galfridus, common.
Jordon. Dr. Thornton, p. 439.
Josceline. *v.* Goslin.
Joyce. Jodoca or Jocosa, woman's name.
Ingram. Ingelramus or Engelramus, common.
Jernegan. Domesday.
Jolland. Jollan, Domesday.
Ivo, or Ive. Domesday.
Ithel. Brit.
Kennet. Keneth, Scottish kings.
Knowd. *v.* Cnute.
Ketell. *v.* Chetell.
Liming. Domesday.
Lambert, and Lambarde, abp. of Cant.
Lucy. Lucius, or Lucia. M. Paris, p. 576.
Leverick, and Laverack Leofric, and Leverius. Annal. Burton. p. 247.
St. Leger. De Santo Leodegario.
Lefwin. Leofwin, common Sax. name, written also Lewen, as in Domesday and P. Bles. p. 116.
Lewen. *v.* Lefwin.
Levin, and Levinz, Domesday. Livin, Camden. Lifing, Chron. Sax.
Maurice, and Morris. Mauritius, the Saint.
Merfin. Merefinus, Mervin, British.
Meredith, Brit.
Merrick. Meric, Brit.
Milicent, woman's name.

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Muriel, woman's name.
Miles. Milo, common.
Maud, and Mawd. Matilda, woman's name.
Mallet. Chron. Sax.
Mabel. Mabilia, Mabella, or Amabilia.
Mauger. Malgerius, Rapin, I. p. 165.
Madocks, or Madox. Madoc, Brit.
Morgan. Brit.
Macy, or Massy. Domesday.
Maino. Domesday.
Maynard. Domesday, Camden, p. 73.
Murdac. Domesday.
Murfin. *v.* Merfin.
Neale, Negullus, bp. of Ely.
Niel, Chron. Sax.
Noel. Natalis. Camden, p. 128. thinks it may be from the time when born.
Norman. Chron. Sax. Ingulph. p. 10. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 8.
Otwell. Ottuel, Chron. Sax.
Omer. Eomer, Chron. Sax. Audomarus, a Saint.
Orson. Urso, Domesday, Dugd. Mon. III. p. 261. Urse, whence Fitz-Urse.
Otes. Otho, or Odo, *v.* Hode.
Ottey, a nick-name from Odo or Eudo, *v.* Hode.
Oswald. A Saint.
Owen, Brit. Audoenus or Eugenius.
Osborne. Rapin, I. p. 168. Osbern, Chron. Sax.
Oger. Domesday.
Olave, the Saint, and in Domesday.
Orme. Domesday.
Other. Ohter, Chron. Sax.
Ougthred. *v.* Uctred.
Parnel. Woman's name, Petronilla.
Pigot. Ingulph. p. 87. It may be a surname, meaning *speckled*, Camden, p. 129.
Paine, or Payne. Paganus, Domesday. Spelm. Gloss. p. 443.
Paganel, or Painel. Spelm. Gloss. p. 443
Percival, common.
Pascal, several Popes. Camden, p. 128, thinks it may be, in some cases, from the time when born.
Paulin. Paulinus, abp. of York.
Picotte. Domesday.
Pipard. Domesday.
Pontz, or Poyntz. Domesday.
Puntz. *v.* Pontz.
Pritchard. Brit. ap Richard.
Price. Brit. ap Rice.
Pugh. Brit. ap Hugh.
Powell. Brit. ap Hoel, or Howel.
St. Quintin. Quintinus, the Saint.
Rothery. Rodericus.
Rudd. Rhudd, Brit.
Rolle. Raoule, the French of Radulph, Ralph, Raulf, and Ralf.
Ralph. *v.* Rolle.
Reynard and Rainer, Domesday. Reynardus, Camden, p. 73.
Reynold. Sax. Regnold, and Regenold, &c.
Rose, woman's name.
Randal and Randolph, common Christian names.
Raymond, Earls of Provence
Remy. Remige, Remy, from Remigius, a Saint.
Rolf. Domesday.

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Rotrock. Domesday.
Sitsel. *v.* Gesil.
Seymour. St. Maur, Semarus, Domesday.
Star and Stor. Domesday.
Sewal and Sewald, Siwald, Domesday.
Seward. Siward, Sax. Earl.
Siwald. *v.* Sewal.
Silvester, several Popes.
Sanders and Saunders, nurse-name from Alexander.
Sebright. Sæbyrht, Chron. Sax. corrupted of Seigebert, Camden, p. 87.
Sampson, common.
Selwyn, Saxon.
Sidney, common.
Savery, Savaricus.
Searle. Serlo, very common formerly.
Sayer. Saerus, M. Westmin. p. 280. Domesday.
Sankey. Sancho, Span.
Staverd. Domesday.
Swain. The king.
Sentlo. De Sancto Lupo, or De Sancto Laudo.
Semarton, St. Martin.
Seimple, or Sampol, *i. e.* St. Paul.
Sampiere, or St. Pierre. St. Peter.
Samond, or Samon. De Sanc. Amando.
Simberd, or St. Barbe. De Sancta Barbara.
Sinclair, De Sancta Clara.
Senliz, Singlis, or Sanliz. De Sancto Lizio.
Toly. A crasis for St. Olye, *i. e.* St. Olave.
St. Tabbe, *i. e.* St. Ebbe. Camden, p. 123.
St. Tows, *i. e.* St. Osythe. Camden, ibidem.
Tristram, common.
Thurstan, abp. of York.
Tancred, common.
Theobold, abp. of Canterbury.
Terrick and Terry. Theoderick.
Tudor. Brit. Theodore.
Talbot. Domesday.
Tovy. Domesday.
Turgod, or Thoroughgood. Turgotus, Ingulphus.
Thorold. Dugd. Baron. and Ingulph.
Vincent, many writers.
Vivian. Wood's Hist. II. p. 390.
Uctred, or Oughtred. Chron. Sax. and Domesday.
Ulmer, Domesday.
Walter, common.
Wulstan and Wolston, a Saint.
Walwyn, or Gawen, Brit.
Warin. Guarinus.
Wishart. Wiscard, or Guiscard.
Wade. Domesday.
Walerand. Walaram, Chron. Sax.

Here ends my imperfect list; and I shall only observe upon it, 1st, that the families, bearing names of this kind, are generally old, our earliest distinctions being by the *Fitz*, afterwards dropped or omitted. 2dly, the British or Welch, as likewise the Scots, had their *ap* and *ab*, *mab* and *mac*, in the same manner as we had our *Fitz*, but in many cases have left them off. 3dly, I think it very remarkable, that, in Dr. Fiddes's life of Cardinal Wolsey, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, is called Dr. Edmunds, and Stephen Gardiner,

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Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Stephens. These prelates indeed had no children; but these instances may serve to shew, nevertheless, with what facility Christian names would pass into surnames, in cases where there were children.

I am, Sir, &c.

T. Row.

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§ 4. *Sirnames derived from Trades, Occupations, Professions, and Conditions of Life, now obsolete.*

Archer. There is a noble family of this name.

Arrowsmith. So named from the old trade of making the heads of arrows.

Armitage. Corrupted from *Hermitage.*

Abbot.

Arblaster. *Balistarius* in Latin.

Billman. The bill was an instrument much used in war, and by watchmen.

Bowes. De arcubus, Campbell's lives of the Admirals, iv. p. 267.

Bowman. *Ibidem.*

Butts. The place of exercising with the bow and arrow.

Boulter. From *bolting* or sifting flower; or, perhaps, a maker of arrowheads. *v. Shotbolt.*

Bowyer. He that made or sold bows.

Broadspear. The spear is now little used.

Breakspear. *v.* Broadspear.

Benbow, *quasi* Bend-bow. Campbell, iv. p. 267.

Cardinal.

Crosier. The ancient pastoral staff of our prelates.

Forester, and by contraction *Forster*; an officer of account whilst the *Forest-laws* were in force.

Foster. From *fostering* or nursing; the first of which is now little used.

Fortescu, *quasi* Strong-shield. The shield is now out of use.

Friar.

Fletcher. He whose business it was to finish, or put the feathers to the arrows, from the English word *fledge*; or, perhaps, a maker of arrows, from the French *flèche.*

Forbisher. In Latin *Forbator*, vide Spelman's Gloss. in voce; called from *furbishing*, *i. e.* cleaning and brightening

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of armour. It is not the Saxon *formunge*, as Spelman derives it; but is the French *fourbir*, whence they have the term *Fourbisseur*, in the same sense.

Falkner. A falconer.

Hawker. One that sports with hawks; and not from hawking and pedling, though, in some cases, perhaps, from this last.

Hookeman. The hook was anciently a warlike instrument.

Minors. This, I suppose, may be taken from the *friars minors*, or *grey friars*,—but quere; for see Camden, p. 150.

Moigne, or Monke. The French is *La Moine*, as appears from the genealogy of Gen. Monke.

Massinger. Denominated, I suppose, from the *mass*. We have a good comic poet of this name.

Masters. *De monasteriis.* Camden, p. 150.

Nun.

Prevost. Lat. *præpositus*, but immediately taken from the French.

Pike. An instrument of war now disused; but q. *pike*, the fish, as Camden, p. 130.

Prior. This has relation to that monastic officer.

Pope. He has nothing to do here now.

Pyle. So called from the head or pile of the arrow.

Pilgrim.

Palmer. A pilgrim returning from Jerusalem, and carrying a palm-branch.

Parmenter. *Pergamenatrius*, a maker of parchment. A. Wood, Hist. et Antiq. p. 90.

Pointer. A maker of points, formerly much worn; or, perhaps, one that pointed arrows.

Strongbow. Campbell, iv. p. 267.

Stringer. He had his employment in the trade of bow-making; or, perhaps, in making the strings only.

Stringfellow. Same as the former. A name common in the north.

Spearman, *v.* Broadspear.

Shakespear, *v.* Broadspear.

Shotbolt. The bolt was the head of an arrow, but a square one.

Talsas, or Talsace. The name of a shield; but this, I think, died with the person. See Camden's Remains, p. 129, Dugd. Baronage, I. p. 31.

Valvasor, or Vavasor. The name of a certain rank or order. See Spelm. Gloss. *v. Valvasores.*

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Ward. A common name; but the thing has been much, though not entirely, disused, since the abolition of the court of wards and liveries. Wards there are yet of the court of chancery.

I am, &c.

T. Row.

1772, *March, June, July, Aug. and Oct.*

LXXII. Origin of the word Lady.

Mr. Urban,

As I have studied more what appertains to the ladies than to the gentlemen, I will satisfy you how it came to pass that women of fortune were called *ladies*, even before their husbands had any title to convey that mark of distinction to them. You must know, then, that heretofore it was the fashion for those families whom God had blessed with affluence, to live constantly at their mansion-houses in the country, and that once a week, or oftener, the lady of the manor distributed to her poor neighbours, *with her own hands*, a certain quantity of bread, and she was called by them the *Leff-day*, *i. e.* in Saxon, the *bread-giver*. These two words were in time corrupted, and the meaning is now as little known as the practice which gave rise to it; yet it is from that hospitable custom, that, to this day, the ladies in this kingdom alone, serve the meat at their own tables.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

1772, *June.*

LXXIII. Pigs of Lead.

§ 1. *An ancient Pig of Lead discovered on Hints Common.*

Mr. Urban,

As some workmen were digging for gravel, last winter, on

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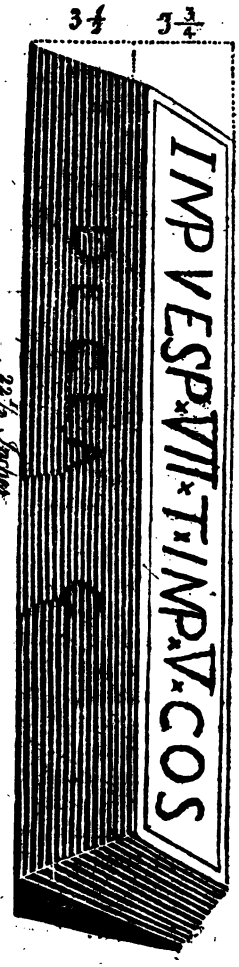
Hints Common, about three quarters of a mile north from the Watling-street-road, they discovered, at the depth of four feet from the surface of the earth, a pig of lead, one hundred and fifty pounds weight, with an inscription, cast in basso relievo, surrounded by a border of an equal height. Through favour of the possessor, Ralph Floyer, Esq. I have been permitted to measure and make an exact drawing of this monument of antiquity, which I have herewith sent you, not doubting of your readiness to oblige your antiquarian readers with a representation of it in your Magazine, to whom it is also submitted for an explanation, by,



Your humble servant,

RICHARD GREEN.

Litchfield, Oct. 17.

P. S. Hints, called by the Saxons HENDON, (or Old Town) is a pleasant village, whose lofty situation commands a very extensive prospect of the counties of Stafford, Leicester, and Derby; it is about four miles from Litchfield, and three from Tamworth. Near the church, which is prebendal, there is a very large tumulus, not long since planted over with firs.

Mr. URBAN,

WE are infinitely obliged to Mr. Floyer for communicating to the public the very ancient block of lead discovered upon Hints Common, *Com. Staff.* A. D. 1771, and to Mr. Green, whose accuracy in those things is well known to you, and may be thoroughly depended upon, for presenting us with an exact drawing of it. This block, so perfect in all

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its parts, and a remnant of such remote antiquity, may be esteemed a most admirable curiosity. The inscription, is to be read *Imperatore Vespasiano septimum, Tito Imperatore quintùm, Consulibus*, and plainly betokens the year of Christ 76, U. C. 828, when, viz. before the kalends of July, Vespasian and Titus were consuls, the first the 7th, and the other the 5th time*. Titus, the son, is here called emperor as well as his father, having been associated by his father in the government of the empire†; and this block of lead is now, A. D. 1773, 1697 years old.

The weight of the piece is 150lb. averdupois, this being, I presume, that species of weight with which the gentlemen tried it. The pound averdupoise is heavier, as all know, than the Troy pound, and the Troy pound is heavier than the Roman pound in the proportion of 1560 grains to 1256‡; insomuch that it weighed more than 150 pounds Roman weight. But this is of no consequence, as little would be learned from it, though one should be at the pains of computing the exact Roman weight of it to a scruple. Suffice it therefore to say, in regard to this point, that it was of a proper size (22½ inches long,) and weight, for loading and unloading, and a suitable burthen for a small horse, such as, I imagine, the British horses then were; and especially in bad roads§, as we may suppose the ways in our island certainly to have been before the military roads were formed, which was not done till many years after the reign of Vespasian.

The figure of the piece is incommodious; the size, indeed, 22½ inches, was convenient enough for lifting; and the weight was sufficiently manageable by a man in loading: but as the bottom was broader than the top, the inscription being undoubtedly put on the uppermost and most visible side when out of the mould, this of course would make it troublesome either in taking up or laying down. The letters, and the border round, were impressed, I conceive, by an engraven stamp of iron, applied whilst the metal was hot, if not placed at the bottom of the form or mould, and consequently the die must have been renewed every year, the date annually varying. The person that marked the piece was certainly the Roman director, or superintendant of the

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* Fasti Consulares, p. 79.

† Universal History, XV. p. 28.

‡ Greaves's Work's I. p. 305.

§ The face of the country was then overgrown with woods, and the paths were both narrow, and but little beaten.

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mine and furnace, and the stamp was intended to shew, in the way of a certificate, that the block had either paid the proper tribute, or was of the due weight, or of legal purity, or lastly, was added for a reason to be given below.

As this piece was smelted so long since as the year 76, this may lead us to inquire more minutely into the history of lead in this island; as also into the country whence this piece in particular came.

To judge from Cæsar's silence, there was no *plumbum nigrum**, or lead, in Britain, when he was here. Nor does Strabo, or Diodorus Siculus, as I think, take notice of any. But this notwithstanding, I am of opinion, that the Britons had mines of this metal long before. Cæsar staid but a short time in the island on either of his expeditions, and could know little or nothing of the mountainous parts of it, where the lead mines usually are, and which in general were very remote. Strabo and Diodorus knew something, and yet not much more than he did. And it appears, from certain particulars, to come to something more positive, that lead was probably gotten here before Cæsar's invasion. According to Bede, piles armed with lead, and driven into the bed of the river Thames, were the defensive efforts of *Cassivallannus*, to obstruct the passage of that river by Julius Cæsar†; and if so, lead was unquestionably the product of the island at that time, and probably long before. This though, perhaps, may be a doubtful fact; and therefore we shall seek out for something more certain. John Leland mentions a plate of lead, or trophy as he calls it, older than this in question, dug up near the lead mines in Somersetshire, and inscribed with the name of the Emperor Claudius, in the 9th year of his *tribunitial power*‡, or A. D. 49‖; which surely must have been gotten and smelted by the Britons. Claudius came hither but A. D. 44, when the Legionaries, totally unused to such employments, wanted the necessary skill for opening and working of mines, and manufacturing of ore, even supposing they were informed there was lead in the island. Besides, they had important business of another and very different kind upon their hands, subduing the country and making settlements in it, and therefore were not likely to turn their thoughts towards such undertakings, which are

* Lead was called *plumbum nigrum* to distinguish it from tin, or *plumbum album*.

† Beda, I. c. 2.

‡ Leland Assert. Arthuri, p. 45. in Tom. V. of the Collectanea. See also Dr. Musgrave's Works, I. p. 182.

‖ Dr. Musgrave, I. p. 182.

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more adapted to people long established in a country, and abounding with leisure and opportunity. Dr. Musgrave, indeed, thinks the Romans might be employed in the mines, but it appears to me far more probable, that the natives wrought them A. D. 49, and that they had wrought them long, (how long is uncertain) and perhaps many centuries before.

What further convinces me that lead was known to the Britons before either Claudius or Julius Cæsar's time, is its name, which appears to be Celtic. The Saxons indeed called this metal by the name of LEAD, whence we have our word; but then this seems to have been borrowed from the British, as the Saxons had probably no acquaintance with this metal till they came hither. In the Irish language, a dialect of the Celtic, and a-kin consequently to the British, lead is called *Luaidhe*, whence, as I think, the Saxons took their name. The word *mine* is originally the British *mwyn*, which is explained by Mr. Richards, *the ore of any metal*; and it is certain that, in some places, the ore is called *mine* as well as the shaft is, where such ore is gotten. I infer, that, as the names of the metal, and of the ore whence it is extracted, and of the place where it is dug, are all of Celtic original, the Britons appear to have had the art of mining, and were the first that opened the earth for that purpose here, and that they had done this, in all probability, before the reign of Claudius, and even before the arrival of Julius Cæsar. This opinion receives some confirmation from the words of Pliny, xxxiv. cap. 17. 'Nigro plumbo ad fistulas laminasque utimur, laboriosiùs in *Hispania* eruto, totasque per *Gallias*: sed in *Britannia* summo terræ corio adeo largè, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat.' Pliny finished his work about U. C. 830, a little before his death, and not more than 32 years after the date of the Claudian inscription above, and yet his words imply, first, that lead could then be gotten here in any quantity; 2dly, that the Romans had then taken the management or regulation of the works into their own hands, and had passed a restraining act, in respect of quantity, about them. This act perhaps was made before A. D. 76, U. C. 828, and might be the cause of our block's being stamped, supposing, that is, that the said stamp was neither intended to denote that the piece had paid the tribute, nor to assure the purchaser of its legal weight and purity, as conjectured above. And 3dly, that mines, in all probability, had then been long wrought here, and even before the year 49, and, consequently, by the Britons before the Roman æra.

The next point to be considered is the country whence

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the pig came. As it was found near the Watling-street, which pointed towards Wales, it is obvious to imagine the piece was brought from that quarter of the island: but then it should be considered, that the road called the Watling-street was not then made, and that Hints-common is nearly in a direct line to London, either from the Peak of Derbyshire, or the Wapentake of Worksworth, in the same county, in both which districts lead was gotten very anciently, insomuch that the piece might be brought, with equal probability, from amongst the Coritani of Derbyshire; I may say, with greater probability, as their country was reduced into the form of a province, by Ostorius Scapula, before the Ordevices were subdued by Suetonius Paulinus, and consequently their lead works would be known to, and would come under the management of, the Romans, sooner than any works in North Wales. In a word, it appears more reasonable, that A. D. 76, a block of Roman lead, for such it then was, should be brought upon a small *Peak* horse out of Derbyshire, than out of Wales, a country, which, in the north part, seems not to have been peaceably settled till U. C. 826, when Julius Agricola was governor, and but two years before this block was stamped*.

T. Row.

P. S. Blocks of lead were formerly called *pigs;* but these being too heavy to be easily managed, as they weighed three hundred weight, more or less, they are now commonly made in Derbyshire into two pieces. The term *pig* had relation, I conceive, to a *sow*, which I suppose might be an heavier block. The term *sow* is still retained in the word *sow-metal*, and perhaps might be chiefly used for blocks of cast iron, though Dr. Johnson explains it *an oblong mass of lead*, and Dr. Littleton interprets *a sow of lead*, by *massa plumbi* MAJOR *conflata*, which shews however, that, in his idea, the *sow* was a larger mass then the *pig*.

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§ 2. *Pig of Lead found near Stockbridge, Hants.*

MR. URBAN, *Nov.* 7.

A pig of lead was found on the verge of Broughton-brook, near Stockbridge, Hants, on the Houghton side of the

* Univ. Hist. xix. p. 136, seq. The Britannia Prima, whence Claudius's block came, had been formed into a province by Vespasian, before A. D. 49. but our piece could not come thence; and the Silures were too far out of the road in respect of London.

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water, Aug. 11, 1783. It weighs near 156lb. and is now in the possession of Thomas South, Esq. of Bossington, in the said county, who having very obligingly favoured me with a copy of the inscription thereon, of which the letters are as perfect as when they first came out of the mould, I send it you for your Miscellany, and hope the learned antiquaries may be induced to give the public an explanation thereof.

Y. Z.

HAVING communicated this to one of our antiquarian correspondents, we had the pleasure to find he had received a copy of it, somewhat different, from the Rev. Mr. Price of Oxford, with the same view of obtaining an explanation.—Our correspondent has accordingly favoured us with the following:

Neronis Augusti ex Keangis IIII *Consulis Britannici.*

I read the inscription on this eighth* pig of lead cast by the Romans in Britain, and discovered in the course of two centuries, thus:

The fourth Consulship of Nero falls A. U. C. 813. A. D. 60, when he had for his colleague Cornelius Cossus, as Tacitus† calls him; or as the Fasti Consulares, published by Almeloveen, ‡ Cossus Cornelius Lentulus; and in an Insc. Grut. CXVIII. COSSO LENTVLO COSSI FILIO COS. also VIII. 5.

Thus far our way is clear: the former inscriptions of this kind exibiting the Emperor's names, titles, and consulship. But here Nero seems to have assumed the title of BRITANNICVS, which no other of his monuments or coins give him. He certainly was entitled to it, for in his reign the Romans continued to gain fresh conquests in this island, though the Britons, who were very uneasy in this state of servitude, made several efforts to regain their liberty, and particularly under the conduct of Queen Boadicea§.

The letters HVLPMCOS have the appearance of a consulship, but to whom to ascribe it is the difficulty.

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* The two first are described by Mr. Camden in Cheshire, Brit. p. 463, ed. 1607. The third near Bruton in Somersetshire. Horsl. Brit. Rom. p. 328. Stuk. It. Cur. I. 143. The fourth and fifth, 1734, found in Yorkshire. Phil. Trans. No. 459, and vol. xlix. p. 686; one of which is now in Brit. Mus. (Archæol. V. 370;) the other at Ripley-Hall, the seat of Mr. John Ingoldsby. Pennant's Wales. The sixth on Hints common, co. Stafford, 1772. Gent. Mag. xlii. 558; xliii. 61. The seventh on Cromford on the Moor, co. Derby, illustrated by Mr. Pegge, Archæol. v. 369.

† Ann. xiv. 20.

‡ P. 75.

§ Ward, in Phil. Trans. xlix. 690.

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There is but one Consul of the name of Ulpianus, in the whole series of Fasti Consulares, and that was 178 years after the date here given, viz. A. U. C. 228. See Gruter, civ. 3, (a reference which I cannot find;) and Censorinus de Die Nat. c. 21.

On the other side are the words EX ARGENT and CAPASCAS; and the sigles like XXX may be the numerals expressing thirty.

"The intent of making the blocks of lead with the Emperor's name might be to authorise the sale of them by virtue of his permission. The year likewise, and the name of the people where the mines lay, were necessary to be added for the sake of the proprietors, in order to adjust their accounts with the officers, and prevent frauds in the execution of their trust. And it is observable, that the method now made use of in the lead mines is not much different from this. For the pigs are upon an average nearly the same weight with that preserved in the draught of that found in Yorkshire, viz 1cwt. 1qr. 16lb. and they are likewise commonly marked with the initial letters of the name of the smelter, or factor, and sometimes both, before they are sent from the mines*."

No ancient people of Britain have given our antiquaries so much trouble to settle as the Cangi. Mr. Horsley†, after a good deal of argumentation, inclines to place them in and about Derbyshire, with the addition of the counties of Stafford, Warwick, and Worcester. If we admit with him and Professor Ward‡, that it is by no means necessary that the pieces of lead should have been cast in the county where they were found, this new discovery will not help us at all to ascertain the situation of the Cangi. As the professor supposes Camden's twenty pieces found at the mouth of the Mersey, in Cheshire, may have been the remains of the cargo of some vessel laden with them, and wrecked on that shore, so we may suppose the present pig was lost or dropped in its passage from the mines, perhaps those of Mendip in Somersetshire, which are the nearest I recollect to the spot where it was found. It may have been on its way down the Rumsey river to the port of Southampton, whose ancient name of Clausentum is by Baxter and Salmon derived from Clauz the British word used for a fort, and Auton,

* Ward, Ib. 696.
† P. 34, 35, 36.
‡ Ubi sup. p. 697.

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the name of the river, perhaps synonymous with Aufona, or Avon.

Dr. Gale* places about the river Itchen a people of the *Iciani*, distinct from those commonly known by that name, and takes them for Cæsar's *Icenimagni* or *Cenimagni*, whose name the Dr. fancied he saw preserved in *Meanstoke*, *Meanborough*, *Mean*, places hereabouts. But not to mention that he errs in saying that Ptolemy places *Portus Magnus* [Portsmouth] among the *Icenimagni*, which is not true (for Ptolemy never mentions them.) Mr. Horsley proposes to read *Iceni, Cangi*, or *Iceni, Regni*, making them two distinct people.

To return to the *Cangi*. If I am right in my conjecture that they are meant on the present piece of lead, it may be objected that there is a difference in the orthography; to which I answer, that on the Hants pig the N is omitted, but a space left for it. On the lead mentioned by Mr. Camden, the name is spelt *Ceangi*. It will be therefore no material variation in orthography, especially considering who the workmen were that made or composed this stamp, to find it here writen KIANGI, or the second letter may be an imperfect E.

The dimensions of the present pig, correspond, within an inch, to those of the Kirshaw and Hints pigs. The weight is near 156lb. that of the Kirshaw 1cwt. 1qr. 16lb. of the Hints, now in Mr. Green's collection at Litchfield, 150lb. Mr. Pennant† says, this last weighs 152lb. about 2lb. more then the common pigs of lead.

We have now a succession of these pieces for the reigns of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, and Hadrian.

The words EX ARGEN may be explained by Mr. Pennant's observation‡ that the Romans found such plenty of silver in the Spanish mines, that for some time they never thought it worth their labour to extract it from lead§. In later times they discovered an ore that contained silver, tin, and lead, and these three metals were smelted from it. It appears that the first product was the tin, the second the silver, and what Pliny calls galæna, which was left behind in the furnace, and seems to be the same with our litharge, and being

* Comment. on Antoninus's Itin. p. 109.
† Wales, I. 56.
‡ Ib. 58.
§ Strabo III. p. 221.

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melted again became lead, or, as this writer calls it, black lead, to distinguish it from white lead, or tin*.

The piece of lead now under consideration is, like all the others, of a wedge-like shape prolonged, a transverse section of which would form a wedge, with the acute angle flattened for the sake of the inscription. On the basis is a hole, seemingly for the insertion of an instrument, whereby it might be lifted by a crane.

1773, *Feb.*
1783, *Nov.*

LXXIV. St. Blase, the patron of Wool-combers.

Mr. URBAN,

I HAVE been often asked about St. Blase†, and his being the inventor of *wool-combing*, or, at least, the patron of that art. Little, however, can I find to satisfaction; but what I can learn of him I shall freely impart to you, nevertheless Mr. Urban, for the information of the querists, and in hopes that those who know more of this vulgar saint may be induced to give us some further account of him, and, in particular, of his connection with the *wool-combers*.

Blase was a Bishop and Martyr; and his see, according to the Breviary, was Sebasta, or Sebask, in Cappadocia‡. He is a person of great note amongst the vulgar, who in their processions as relative to the wool-trade, always carry an effigy or representation of him, as the inventor or patron of their art of combing it. There was an order of knighthood also instituted in honour of him §; and his day, which stands marked at this day in our calendar, was celebrated 3 February. He suffered death in the reign of Dioclesian, about the year 283, according to the Legenda Aurea, but the English version of that book has 387; neither of the dates are strictly true, since Dioclesian did not succeed to the empire till A. D. 284, and died before the latter date. Indeed, authors vary much about the time of his

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* Plin. xxxiv. c. 6.

† He is written also Blasus, and Blaize or Blaise. In the Aurea Legenda there are two etymons of the name, both of them ridiculous. Aurea Legenda, cap. 38.

‡ See also the Aurea Legenda. Others reckon him patron of Armenia; see Collier's Dictionary, v. Blaise and Beda, in Martyrologio, p. 340.

§ Collier's Dictionary in Voce.

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death*. Before his death, which was by decapitation, he was whipped, and had his flesh torn *ferreis pectinibus*, with iron combs.

It is difficult to say from this account of the Saint, which yet is the best I can procure of him, how Blase comes to be esteemed the patron of the *wool-combers*. And when he died, his prayer to our Lord was, as the Golden Legend has it in the English Version, "That whosomever desired hys helpe fro thyinfyrmyte of the throte†, or requyred ayde for any other sekenes or infyrmyte, that he wold here hym, and myght deserve to be guarisshyd and heled‡. And ther cam a voys fro Hevene to hym sayeng that hys peticion was graunted and shold be doon as he had prayd§." In which prayer, there is not a word, you observe, that concerns the *wool-combers*. The art, no doubt, had been invented long before the time of Bishop Blase; it is probably one of those very ancient ones, of which, on account of their great antiquity, the invention is at this day entirely unknown. And as to our bishop, I am of opinion, he was esteemed the patron of the *wool-combers*, merely because he was tortured with an instrument of the kind, with an iron comb. I can find no other reason for it; others may, perhaps, be more fortunate.

Yours,

1773, *August.* T. Row.

LXXV. Wild Cats in Britain.

Mr. Urban,

THE dog is thought to be an indigenous animal of this island, as we find mention made of British dogs in the most early accounts we have of the country;‖ but it is not so with the cat, as appears from the laws of Hoel Dda, who died A. D. 948, where a considerable value is put upon them, and the property of them is secured by penalties¶.

* Annot. ad Bedæ Martyrologium.

† He had cured a boy that had got a fish-bone in his throat, Golden Legend; and was particularly invoked by the Papists in the squinancy or quinsy. Fabric. Bibliogr. Antq. p. 267.

‡ So he was one of the 14 Saints for diseases in general, Fabric. Bibliogr. Antiq. p. 266.

§ Golden Legend, fol. 135.

‖ Mr. Pegge's Essay on Coins of Cunobalin, page, 97.

¶ Mr. Pennant's British Zoology, I. p. 46.

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As the cat is a beast of prey, and particularly fond of birds, the creature is apt to stroll into the fields, and, if it meets with success there, will often become wild, without returning home. Hence came a breed of wild-cats here, which formerly were an object of sport to huntsmen. Thus, Gerard Camvile, 6 John, had special licence to hunt the hare, fox, and wild-cat, throughout all the king's forests;* and 23 Henry III. William, Earl Warren, by giving Simon de Pierpont a goshawk, obtained leave to hunt the buck, doe, hart, hind, hare, fox, goat, *cat*, or any other wild beast, in certain lands of Simon's†.

But it was not for diversion or sport alone, that this animal was pursued in chace; for the skin was of value, being much used by the nuns in their habits, as a fur. Hence, in Archbishop William Corboyl's Canons, anno 1127, art. 10. it is ordained, "that no abbess or nun use more costly apparel than such as is made of lambs or cats skins‡." But their furs, I am told, are more valuable in North America.

The wild-cat is now almost lost in England, but is described by Mr. Pennant, I. p. 47. And as no other part of the creature but the skin was ever of any use here, it grew into a proverb, *that you can have nothing of a cat but her skin.*

1774, *April.* T. Row.

LXXVI. Observations on Stone-henge.

Mr. Urban,

THE inserting in your useful Miscellany the following remarks on Stonehenge will be esteemed a favour by your constant reader,

J. J.

Stonehenge is justly considered as one of the most surprising monuments of antiquity in England; and the great difficulty of bringing together and erecting the prodigious stones of which it is composed, has rendered it an object of much speculation to the curious. The late Dr. Stukely has obliged the world with the best and most accurate account

* Sir W. Dugdale's Baron. I. p. 627.

† Ibidem, II. p. 457. See also, I. p. 701. Blount's Tenures, p. 60, 194. Guston's Hist. of Peterb. p. 151, 160. Mr. Pennant, I. p. 48.

‡ Mr. Johnson's Collection of Laws, Canons, &c. A. 1127.

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of it, I believe, that has ever appeared; and his conjectures carry with them as much weight and conviction as we can expect, considering the very remote antiquity of the fabric, and the rudeness of the times when it was erected. The Doctor is of opinion, that the stones were brought from those called the Grey-Weathers, on Marlborough Downs; that it was built by the Druids, before the arrival of the Romans in Britain; and that it was once perfect and complete, many of the stones having been since broken to pieces, and carried away for other uses.

But some people, thinking the stones much too large for land-carriage, have endeavoured to account for their present appearance, by supposing them to be made on the spot, of a kind of cement. This opinion is adopted by Benjamin Martin, in his Natural History of England, Vol. I. p. 101, & seqq. who likewise dissents from the Doctor in some other particulars. His words are as follow: "As to the original of Stonehenge, it does not appear, from all that he has said, that it was certainly a finished temple at first, or ever built by the Druids: and we think he has not so much as made it probable that the stones which compose it are natural or not factitious." But, as Dr. Stukely's conjectures appear to me well founded, I beg leave to subjoin a few remarks in defence of them, against B. Martin's objections, which I shall consider separately. And,

First, I shall endeavour to prove, that the temple was once in a perfect state, which opinion B. Martin attempts to refute. He says, that "he cannot see any reason to suppose that this temple was ever complete or finished, because it is confessed, that a great number of stones, and many of the largest size, are now wanting, and no where to be found, which must be supposed to have been there used when the temple was completed. The prodigious labour, time, and expence, employed in demolishing such a structure, *to answer no end at the same time*, make it more than probable that it was never once completed; but, what is still a greater proof of this, is, that those stones which are now wanting must still have been in being, and would have been seen or found at no great distance from the place."—Indeed, if *no end was answered* by demolishing this noble work, it is highly probable we should have seen it in a much more perfect state than we do at present; but I think his argument will prove of little weight, when we consider, that they might be broken to pieces, and used for building, which is no more to be wondered at than that men should dig stones out of quarries for the same purpose. This very well accounts for

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their being no where to be found; and, considering that Stonehenge has stood for many hundred years liable to such treatment, the labour, time, and expence employed therein, cannot be thought so much as to overthrow my supposition. Another circumstance that pleads strongly in favour of Dr. Stukely is, that Stonehenge appears to have been long used for a temple the many tumuli placed round it, and the remains of sacrifices said to be found there, are strong proofs of this; and it is the greatest absurdity to believe, that such veneration and regard would have been ever paid to an unfinished pile.

In the next place, B. Martin thinks it does not appear that the Druids were the founders of this temple. It is true, we can in this particular go no farther than mere conjecture, not having any certain account of its building left us; but the Druids have, in my opinion, a much better claim to the honour of the work, than any other people that are thought to have any pretensions to it. That it is of equal antiquity with most other edifices of the same kind in this island cannot be doubted, and, as some of them are crossed and mangled by the Roman ways*, it is evident they were erected before the arrival of the Romans, at which time the Druids presided over the worship and religious ceremonies of the Britons; and, as Stonehenge is allowed to have been a temple, they may with great reason be thought the founders of it.—I think it is plain, from what has been just said, that the Romans can have no claim to it, notwithstanding this was the opinion of the celebrated Inigo Jones; but though he had undoubtedly great merit as an architect, yet I cannot allow that his abilities as an antiquary were equal; at least, his conjectures on Stonehenge are far from being probable, as it is incredible, that a people so famous as the Romans for the beauty and elegance of their buildings, both at home and abroad, should ever construct a work so very rude and void of all ornaments as Stonehenge has always been.

I come now to consider what is offered by B. Martin in support of his notion, that the stones of Stonehenge are factitious. This was, doubtless, invented as the only resource of those who think it impossible for such ponderous bodies to be moved from one place to another by human art. The folly of such an opinion will appear, when we reflect, that, in an old wall surrounding the famous temple

* Beauties of Nature and Art, Vol. II. p. 151.

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at Balbec, there are stones of much larger dimensions than any of those at Stonehenge; for we are told, that one of them is sixty-three feet in length, and two others sixty a piece, each of them being twelve feet deep, and of the same breadth, and these prodigious stones are also raised up into the wall many feet from the ground*: and that they are natural, cannot be doubted; their being three separate pieces is a sufficient proof of this, as they lie contiguous to each other.—I could bring other examples from authentic history, both ancient and modern, to prove what amazing weights may be managed by human art, the methods of doing which were not unknown to the Druids, if we allow Stonehenge to be their work; since I think enough has been alledged to convince any body that the stones of Stonehenge may be natural. Besides, if they were factitious, how could the imposts be made of a different piece from the uprights? would not all the pieces have been united into one block of stone? It may be said, that the imposts were formed into their shape on the ground, and then lifted up into their places; but those who plead for the stones being artificial, are such as think it impossible to lift such heavy bodies to the height of 18 or 20 feet. Admitting, then, that these stones are natural, it is very probable that they were brought from Marlborough-downs; for though it is objected that there are now none among the Grey-Weathers equal to the smaller ones of Stonehenge, yet this by no means proves that there were not some much larger before the building of that temple, but instead thereof, it makes the contrary opinion very plausible, and that the materials of Stonehenge actually came from thence;-which I doubt not will appear very practicable, as they might employ a vast number of hands in a work of so public a nature, and perhaps were months, if not years, in performing the task of bringing each of them so far.

I hope the above is sufficient to vindicate the sentiments of the learned antiquary before mentioned: I shall therefore conclude by adding, that his many opportunities of examining Stonehenge, and his great abilities in searching into antiquity, render his authority very respectable; and as his conjectures on the present subject are plausible, so it is likely we shall never see any hypothesis better grounded than that which he has favoured us with.

1774, *May.*

* Beauties of Nature and Art, Vol. X. p. 112.

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LXXVII. Auncient Ordre for hallowing of the Cramp Rings, &c.

[*From a MS. belonging to the late Mr. Anstis, now to the Duke of Northumberland.*]

"FIRSTE, the Kinge to come to the chappell or closset, withe the Lords and Noblemen waytinge upon him, without any sword borne before hime as that day, and ther to tarrie in his travers until the Byshope and the Deane have brought in the Crucifixe out of the vestrie, and layd it upon the cushion before the highe alter. And then the Usher to lay a carpet for the Kinge to *creepe to the crosse* upon: and that done, ther shall be a formé sett upon the carpett before the crucifix, and a cushion laid upon it for the kinge to kneale upon. And the Master of the Jewell house ther to be ready with the crampe rings in a bason of silver, and the Kinge to kneele upon the cushion before the forme. And then the Clerke of the Closett be redie with the booke concerninge the halowinge of the crampe rings, and the Aumer muste kneele on the right hand of the Kinge, holdinge the sayd booke. When that is done, the Kinge shall rise and go to the alter, wheare a Gent. Usher shall be redie with a cushion for the Kinge to kneele upon: and then the greatest Lords that shall be ther, to take the bason with the rings, and beare them after the King to offer. And thus done, the Queene shall come downe out of her closset or traverse into the chappell, with ladyes and gentlewomen waitinge upon her, and *creepe to crosse*, and then goe agayne to her closett or traverse. And then the ladyes to *creepe to the crosse* likewise, and the Lords and Noblemen likewise."

Dr. Percy, who has printed this curious extract at the end of his notes on Northumberland Household-book, observes, that our ancient Kings, even in the dark times of superstition, do not seem to have affected to cure the *King's Evil*; at least this MS. gives no hint of any such power. This miraculous gift was left to be claimed by the Stuarts; our ancient Plantagenets were humbly content to cure the *cramp*.—The doctor adds, that, in 1536, when the convocation under Henry the VIII. abolished some of the old superstitious practices, this of *creeping to the cross* on Good-Friday, &c. was ordered to be retained as a laudable and edifying custom. See Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. It appears, in the Northumberland Household-book, to have been observed in the earl's family, the value of the offerings then made by himself, his lady, and his sons, being there severally ascertained.

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There is also specified a candle to be offered by each of the above persons on St. Blays day; on which the learned editor observes, that "the anniversary of St. Blasius is the 3d of February, when it is still the custom, in many parts of England, to light up fires on the hills on St. Blayse-night; a custom anciently taken up, perhaps, for no better reason than the jingling resemblance of his name to the word *Blaze*."

1774, *June*. D. H.

LXXVIII. Ancient Baptisteries, Lavatories, &c.

Mr. URBAN,

THE sensible and lively author of the book entitled, A Walk in and about the city of Canterbury, has, at p. 105, given a new name to the circular building, vulgarly called Bell Jesus, situated near the north door of that cathedral; but, when Mr. Gostling ventured to be the sponsor upon this occasion, I am suspicious he might not recollect, that few old *baptisteries* are to be traced in the churches and chapels formerly belonging to the monasteries in this kingdom. Archbishop Edmund, in his Constitutions, published about the year 1236, directed a stone font to be provided for every *baptismal* church; which Lyndwood interprets to be a church having the people (i. e. the laity) connected with it; "for," adds this eminent civilian, "in a collegiate or conventual church, which has not the people, there ought to be no font"*. Keysler, in his Travels, vol. ii. p. 44, 45, has given a particular description of the *baptistery* at Florence, mentioned by Mr. G. in which this traveller informs

* Baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali (*a*) lapideum, &c.

(*a*) Baptismali] Sive cathedrali, sive parochiali; tali nempe quæ habet populum: nam in ecclesiâ collegiatâ, vel conventuali, quæ non habet populum, non debet esse baptisterium, &c.

The writer was from the first doubtful whether there might not be an instance or two to the contrary of what he has here advanced, and, since he finished his letter, he has discovered, that a Bishop of Coventry granted to the abbey of Haghmon, in Shropshire, an officer, whose province it was to baptise as well Jews as infants, and who was to discharge parochial duty for the servants and domestics in that monastry. But the reverend author of the Preface to Tanner's Notit. Monast. p. 29, mentions this to be a very different sacristan from what usually belonged to other religious houses. It may also be remarked, that Haghmon-Abbey was a fraternity of regular Austin canons and not Benedictines, the monks of which stricter order were settled in all our cathedral priories, Carlisle excepted.

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us, that it is opposite to the cathedral, that it is called *Il Battisterio*, or St. John's Church, and that all the children of Christian parents in that city are baptised in it. A *baptistery* of this kind could not well have been wanted in Canterbury; because the right of administering baptism seems to have been annexed to all the parochial churches there, from the first establishment of them; and from the author's account of the font in St. Martin's church, there is a presumptive proof of its being more ancient than the cathedral itself. For these reasons, I am apt to imagine, that the building in question was never designed for a *baptistery*; and, indeed, had their been an edifice for this purpose within the precincts of the cathedral, one should hardly have expected to have found it near the centre of the offices belonging to the convent. But, as I have taken the liberty to object to the new name conferred on this little building, in order to afford others the like opportunity of making exceptions, I will hazard a guess at what may have been the true appellation of it; and, in my opinion, it was the ancient *lavatory*, *i. e.* the place where the members of the priory used to wash themselves. In the Constitutions given to the monks of the Benedictine order, by Archbishop Lanfranc, this apartment is expressly named, and in a manner which will induce us to fix it not far from the dortor, or dormitory*; and it appears, by the inclosed extracts from Du Fresne's Gloss. Med. et Infim. Latin. that there was, in other monasteries, such a building, which adjoined to the chapter-room, as did also the scriptorium (i. e. the room in all great convents in which persons were constantly employed to transcribe books for the choir and the library†.) The situation of this circular recess in Canterbury cathedral nearly answers to this description, it being at a very inconsiderable distance from the old chapter-house, and contiguous to the old library, which was over the prior's chapel, and of which library the scriptorium was probably a part. It is observed by Mr. G. that this building consists of two rooms, one on the ground floor, and the other on a level with the gallery leading to the

* Cum appropinquaverit temp is horæ tertiæ pulsetur a secretario modice signum minimum, quam "skillam" vocant, et statim pergant in dormitorium, et calcient se diurnalibus, et cultellos accipiant; deinde ad *lavatorium* veniant, et prius lavent se, et postea pectinent, deinde ad ecclesiam veniant, &c. &c. *Wilkins' Concil. Mag. Britan. v. i.* 329.

† *Lavatorium*, ubi manus lavant monachi priusquam eant ad refectorium.—*Pyrale*, hypocaustum conventuale, estuve, in quo capitulum celebratur.—Veniunt in pyrale, et inde in *lavatorium*, necnon et proximum pyrali scriptorium: et has tres regularissimas præ omnibus quas unquam viderint, asserebant esse officinas. *Eckehardus junior, de Casibus S. Galli, cap.* 11.

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church. Now, I apprehend the vault to have been the *lavatory* for the monks in general, and the upper room to have been raised at a different time, for the convenience of the prior, who, Mr. Somner tells us, had, through their private chapel, a passage from their lodgings to the church. Perhaps the prior might, in this apartment, discharge the duty incumbent on him, of washing the feet, and pouring water upon the hands, of some of his monastic brethren, on Maunday-Thursday. This practice was enjoined by Archbishop Lanfranc, in the Constitutions before cited, and the spot for the performing this ceremony was directed to be without the doors of the chapter-house, and before it. If, therefore, we suppose, what is likely to have been the case, that the prior had a door out of this gallery into the chapter-house, as well as into the church, the archbishop's expression will countenance the notion I have adopted, of this building's having been applied to that use*.——However, whether it ought to be denominated the *old baptistery* or the *old lavatory*, or must still retain the name it has acquired by long usage, is an important point, which must be left to the decision of the reader. Should I be allowed to have drawn "the happier conclusion" I frankly acknowledge "to have been led to it by the hint given by my chearful and communicative guide." For though, some years since, I frequently examined this elegant rotunda, I could never form any idea of the purposes for which it was erected; and, had not this more attentive perambulator apprized me, that formerly two pipes, or jets, for water, were fixed in it, I should still have returned the same unmeaning answer to every curious inquirer I had hitherto done, namely, that it was the model of a bell cast, and cast away, no body knew when or where.

With my hearty thanks to the merry rambler, for the great entertainment he has afforded me, and with my best wishes that he may enjoy more ease of body than I am concerned to hear he has done for a long time, I remain,

His and your humble servant,

Oct. 5, 1774, *Nov.* W. and D.

* Lotis omnium qui in capitulo sunt pedibus, sedeant foris ante capitulum prior et prædicti servitores cum eo. Quorum pedes præcinctus tersorio abbas, flexis genibus, abluat, et tergat, et osculetur, subservientibus sibi fratribus ad hoc obsequium deputatis.——Post hæc redeat abbas in sedem, &c.—His expletis, exeat abbas, et prior et servitores eorum, et ante capitulum præbeat eis abbas aquam ad abluendas manus, &c.—*Wilkins, ut supra*, p. 336, 337.

It should be remembered, that, in the monastery of Christ-Church, the chief officer of the society had no higher title than that of prior, and therefore, in the construction of this passage, prior must always be substituted for abbot.

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LXXIX. Manner of Punishing offending Monks, and Rules for prepairing Bread for Hosts.

Mr. URBAN,

YOU was so obliging as to admit into a late Magazine, some remarks which had occurred to me while I was accompanying Mr. Gostling in his walk about the precincts of Canterbury cathedral, and, when you have a page of your entertaining Miscellany not better engaged, I shall be obliged to you to insert these additional observations. My old acquaintance and I parted at the rotunda (which I suppose to have been the lavatory* of the convent,) situated near the north door of the church; and I will now, with my pen in my hand, such as it is, wait upon my intelligent guide to the south-east quarter of that magnificent fabric.

The spot on which I intend to hazard another conjecture is the recess formerly called St. Anselm's chapel, the lower floor of which is now converted into vestries for the minor-canons and lay-clerks. Over these vestries is a room, and a closet to it, that has a window, with an iron grate, looking into the choir; and this closet Mr. Gostling, with probability, imagines to have been the place where the irregular monks were occasionally imprisoned (See the Walk, p. 151, 152.) In the adjoining apartment there are, it seems, a chimney and an oven, which I do not recollect ever to have noticed, though I must have been frequently in the room; and these conveniencies, according to the surmise of the ingenious author, were built for the use of the culprits confined there. But, in this notion, I differ from him. For, as rigid fasting was the general established rule of the religious of the Benedictine order, it is no improbable supposition, that an offending brother, when in close custody, would be subjected to a still more severe state of abstinence, and, of course, could have little want of an oven. And there are likewise some passages in the Constitutions of Lanfranc, referred to in my last letter, which afford a very strong presumptive proof, that the scanty portion of food which was allowed was always ready dressed†. The culpable monks were ranged by

* Dr. Thomas has prefixed to his Survey of Worcester cathedral, an accurate ichnography of that building; by which it appears, that the lavatory of the old convent is still remaining, and that it is placed between the dormitory and the refectory.

† Wilkins' Concil. Mag. Britan. Vol. I. p. 352, 353.

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the archbishop under three classes. When only a slight fault had been committed, the offender was to have the ordinary diet of the convent, but he was not to be permitted to eat it, till three hours after the customary times of refreshment; and while his brethren were in the refectory, he was to remain in the church by himself. If the crime was of a deeper dye, the guilty brother was to be committed to the special custody of another monk, who was always to attend him to and from his place of confinement; and the prior was to give the particular directions relating to his provision, and the hour of his receiving it. But a profligate and contumacious criminal was to be seized by violence, and cast into the prison appropriated for atrocious criminals, and brought, if possible, by the harshest discipline, to a sense and public acknowledgment of his transgressions. In neither of these modes of treating the disorderly members of this monastic fraternity do there seem to be sufficient grounds for believing that Mr. Gostling has been equally fortunate in this conjecture, as in most others dispersed through his book. And I am, besides, apt to think there is one of Lanfranc's Constitutions, which will lead to a discovery of the chief, if not the only, purpose for which the oven in this appartment was erected.

From the time that the attempt was made to form the preposterous tenet of the reality of the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist into an article of faith, various were the disputes which arose concerning the kind and the form of the bread which was to be used in this sacred institution. Some would have it leavened, and others contended it should be unleavened. One party asserted it ought to be taken from a round loaf, and their opponents warmly maintained it ought to consist of only a small wafer; and whether this wafer was to be plain, or to have the figure of a crucifix, or of the holy lamb, stamped upon it, was a subject of earnest debate. This strange notion likewise introduced a series of rites, which were to be practised as well before as after the consecrating of this sacramental bread.

Archbishop Lanfranc was a zealous advocate for this absurd doctrine. Prepossessed, therefore, with the idea of the profound reverence and adoration which was to be offered to a piece of bread, when deified by the priest, he judged it requisite, from a specious regard to decency, to appoint, among his decrees, several superstitious ceremonies, which were to be observed in preparing it for this divine use. As Spelman and Wilkins are the only ecclesiastical writers who have mentioned this curious and whimsical process, I have

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inclosed an abstract of it, which may, perhaps, afford amusement to some of your readers.—

"In all the religious houses, the preparing of the hosts was a branch of the sacrist's duty; and it was an express injunction of the archbishop to this officer in the priory of Christchurch, to shew the greatest attention in having them made in the clearest and purest manner.—The corn was to be selected with the utmost care, and grain by grain, if practicable. When thus sorted, it was to be put into a new fine bag, provided for this purpose only, and carried to the mill by a trusty servant. The servant was to see some other grain pass through the hopper, before that designed for the holy bread was put into it, that, in grinding, it might not be polluted, by being mixed with any foreign substance. When the meal was brought back to the sacrist, he was to prepare a place and a vessel, *in circuitu cortina*, for the boulting of it; and this work was to be done by himself, in his albe, and with his head veiled. On the day of making the hosts, the sacrist, and his brethren who were to assist him, where to wash their hands and faces, put on their albes, and veil their heads, that monk only excepted, whose business was to hold the iron plate, and attend to it, and he was to wear gloves. During the process of making and baking the bread, the monks were to repeat the common psalms of the hours, and the canonical hours, or, if they pleased, any other suitable psalms, out of the regular course. But, when not engaged in this religious exercise, the strictest silence was to be observed, with an indulgence only to the person who held the iron plate, to give some brief directions to the servant who attended, to supply the fire with fuel, that was to be perfectly dry, and provided several days before*."

There can be little doubt but this work was done in some room within the church, or in one adjoining to it; and my opinion with respect to the former use of the oven now

* Wilkins' Concil. Vol. I. p. 349.—As I must own I do not clearly comprehend the meaning of the expression *in circuitu cortina*, where the meal was ordered to be boulted I have not aimed at a translation of it. But I submit to those who are more skilled than I am in the disposition of the offices formerly belonging to our monastic buildings, whether some light may not be thrown upon this obscure term, by comparing it with Gervase's account of the repair of that part of the church near Anslem's chapel, since he seems to me to make use of a similar word.—Of the reasons assigned by him why that part of the choir by the altar was narrower than that near the great tower, one was, "quod duæ turres Sancti Anselmi videlicet et Sancti Andreæ, in utroque latere ecclesiæ antiquitus ad CIRCINUM positæ," &c. X. Script. Col. 1303.

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under our review will, I imagine, be readily concluded. I will, however, offer one reason for my believing I am not mistaken in my supposition that it was built for the baking of the sacramental wafers; which is, my having observed a chimney, with an oven to it, in a room communicating with Merton's chapel, in the north-east cross of Rochester cathedral, near which was undoubtedly the apartment and different offices of the sacrist of that priory.

The perusal of the foregoing extract from Lanfranc's Constitutions may, perhaps, recal to the minds of my readers the late Lord Lyttleton's judicious stricture upon his character, for the unhappy use he made of his talents, in becoming a principal champion for the real presence, and establishing, by his authority, a doctrine unknown to the church of England*. Should they remember the passage to which I allude, they will, I am persuaded, be apt to suspect, that the very great reputation this prelate acquired in the Christian world, for his piety, learning, and parts was unmerited, since they produced in himself, and prompted him to demand from those under his jurisdiction, such a bigotted observance of numberless insignificant ceremonies. How much more deserving of praise were the wise and religious reformers of our church, who, guided by scripture and reason, enjoined only this short and pertinent rubric concerning the same sacred ordinance—"And, to take away the superstition which any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine, it shall suffice, that it be such as is usually to be eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."

I am, &c.

1775, *April.* W. and D.

LXXX. Query respecting the arms of our Archbishops, with an answer.

Mr. URBAN,

ONE of your constant readers will be much obliged to Mr. Row, or any of your antiquarian correspondents, who can inform him when the mitre, in the arms of our Archbishops, was first placed in a Ducal coronet, in which it now differs

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* Lord Lyttleton's Life of Henry II. Vol. I.

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from those of our Bishops; especially as it seems of modern introduction, since not only those on the tombs of the old prelates in Canterbury cathedral, but those of some since the Reformation, in the windows of that church, have it not.

Yours, &c.

Q.

Mr. URBAN,

IN answer to your correspondent's question concerning placing the Archbishop's mitre on a Ducal coronet, I can only say, that the best account of it which I have seen is in Mr. Pegge's assemblage of coins, fabricated by authority of the Archbishops of Canterbury, p. 7. It is there acknowledged to be a practice lately introduced, but seems to be done with much propriety, considering the rank his grace holds, which is above the dukes, except those of the blood: and at the same time it is very ornamental, as appears to the eye in the engraved inscription prefixed to the assemblage, &c.

1775, *July, Oct.* T. ROW.

LXXXI. On the Culture of Vines in England.

Mr. URBAN,

THE controversy about the culture of the vine in England hath been so largely discussed by two learned members of the Society of Antiquaries, that it may seem superfluous, if not impertinent, to add any more to it. But as doubts and conjectures often furnish means for the discovery of truth, I may be permitted to suggest such as have occurred to me in the perusal of Mr. Barrington's paper on this subject, just published in the third vol. of the Archæologia*, and submit myself to his candor, while I range myself on the side of his antagonist.

It appears to me that the word *vinea* is in no one instance used by our antient writers, in any other than its classical and common signification. I shall examine the instances in which it is used by our monkish historians, who, though they too often mistake a bombast for a florid style, and give common relations, and trivial incidents, an air of pomp and rhapsody, are not apt to err in the use of obvious and well known terms. The question about the alteration of our cli-

* In answer to Mr. Pegge, on the same question in the same volume.

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made since the time of the Romans, of Bede, or of Edward III. is a *petitio principii*, against which, I apprehend, terms and names in general acceptation are not here allowed their proper weight.

When it is said that *vinum*, as οἶνος, is applied by classical writers to other species of wine besides that made from grapes, it is bearing too hard upon monkish writers, not to allow that in them it *ever* signifies grape wine. *Vinum* is certainly a word of as unconfined signification as *uva*; yet these no more exclude the idea of grapes and their wine from later writers, than *monstrum*, *pons**, and *vinitor*, do those primary ones of a monster, a bridge, a vine-dresser. The instance of *Pavo*, adduced from Brompton is not conclusive; since Giraldus, whom Brompton professes to follow, expressly adds *sylvestres*, which his transcriber omitted; and even had this not been the case, the same exception might have been taken to *grues*, which I suppose are now as scarce in Ireland as in England.

But with all due deference to Mr. B. I must take the liberty to affirm, that no instance in Du Cange amounts to a proof that *vinea* has more than the usual sense of a vineyard, I mean, applied to plantation; for we all know that certain machines were called by this name. Not to multiply quotations in my own cause, let us examine those brought by Mr. B. in defence of his. That of *terra vineata*, is not terra simply *culta* vel *consita*, but "*vineis* culta vel consita;" as under the same article we have "unam peciam terræ *vineatæ*," and "unam peciam terræ arativæ et vineatæ," where *vineata* is distinguished from *arativa*: and Du Cange's design in adducing these passages, is to shew, that "terra *vineata*" was "ager *vineis consitus*." He also brings *vineatus* for embroidered with vine leaves. "*Vineare* campum" is not merely to break it up, but *vineis conserere*. *Vinearium*†, and *vineale*, are strictly vineyards; and though *vineæ* and *vinealia* occur together in one instance,

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* Pons *novi Templi Londoniæ, per quem tum magnates quam alii fideles nostri ad Parliamentum et concilia nostra apud Westmonasterium, venientes* de dicta civitate et suburbiis ejusdem per aquam *ad dictum locum Westmonasterii, communiter transeunt, &c.* are the words of the record, by which, probably, is meant some bridge over a creek or inlet of the Thames, crossing the lane leading down to the temple stairs, rather than the stairs or lane. Stowe cites the record, without explaining what is meant by the bridge, as he translates it. Hist. of Lond. p. 440. Ed. 1633.

† *Vinearium* is explained, in Greek Glossaries and Codes, οἰναφόρος and ἀμπελος; so that admitting οἰναφόρος to be *cyder* bearing, we must translate ἄμπελος *pomum*.

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they are no more distinct than *horti* and *jardini* in another, and are corruptions from classical words appropriated to *vineyards*. Granting *vindemia* to signify "*fructus quoslibet* colligere" in later writers, as it applied to olives and honey in Pliny* and Columella†, this will no more prove against its natural application to grapes, than the term hay-harvest will prove there is no corn where it is used; and harvest, like *messis*‡, is a controvertible term. Admitting also, with Charpentier, that *vinea* is "ager vineis arboribusque consitus," what is this but saying that *vines* were an essential part of the plantation? so that, could we but meet with this term in an English record or historian, our country might recover its vines again.

Most commentators allow that the *carme*, or vineyards of Engeddi, were proper vineyards. Dom Calmet§ says, they produced the Cyprus vines, and Bishop Patrick‖ supposes that clusters, or, as the margin of our bible renders it, cypresses, were branches of the aromatic shrub, which gave its name to the island of Cyprus. There is, however, no reason for excluding these plants from vineyards, or supposing *carme* should not here mean a vineyard.

It is by no means clear, that the French word *vigne* is put for "a house including a small garden." In the instances cited from Madame du Boccage, she is certainly only a translator of the Italian term *vigna*, which is as commonly applied to mansion-houses, whether in town or country, as *villa*. We need only look into Montfaucon's and other travels in Italy, to be convinced of this. The truth is, vineyards made a part of considerable gardens, and came in time to be put for the whole; as with us a tract of ground laid out in plantations of various kinds (where what is strictly called a garden has the least share) is yet called a garden. But it seems too great a force upon language, to suppose, that, because the Italians gave the name of *vigna* to a pleasure-ground or house, (for it is to these, by the authorities Mr. B. cites, and not to a garden or orchard, simply considered, that this name was given) that, therefore, the English, who knew not what a pleasure-house was at the time in question, should confine *vinea* to it, to the absolute exclusion of its primary sense.

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* Lib. XV. c. 1.

† Lib. IX. c. 15.

‡ Messis amara, sc. absynthi, Ovid. Pont. III. 1. 24. though *messis* proprie dicitur in iis quæ metuntur, maxime in frumento. Varro.

§ Dict. art. Engeddi.

‖ Paraph. on Canticles I. 14.

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I shall not plead, that, as I have not Biornior by me, I know not whether the Russians went into a Russian, or a more southern wood to pick pears or plumbs. But if there are, in the northern languages, such words as *perur* and *plumer*, it is a fair conclusion, that such sort of fruits grew in northern latitudes, without supposing these plumbs and pears to approach nearer to the green-gage or bon chretien, than the crab to the golden pippin.

Whatever might be the productions of the northern countries, where Bede lived, there is no reason to suppose him so unacquainted with those of the southern ones. There was a sufficient commerce between the monks and the different provinces of England, to undeceive any writer as to the state of their monasteries, in which, alone, we suppose vines to be cultivated. Bede had a corespondence with Albin, Abbot of Canterbury, and Nothelm, presbyter of London, to both whom he acknowledges himself obliged in his preface. Add to this, that the Saxon translator of Bede renders *vineas*, *wingeardas*.

Mr. B. observes from Pliny, that the paucity of vineyards in Italy occasioned a law of Romulus to use milk instead of wine in libations. But as this by no means proves that there were then no vineyards in Italy, and succeeding cultivation encouraged their advance, so neither can we prove, from the fewness of them in England, that there were none in the places that ever since bear their name. Had there been a similar law among Alfred's, it could never surely have been alledged to prove there were no vineyards in England.

Hamo de Hethe, Bishop of Rochester, was so great an improver of his palaces by building and cultivation, that it cannot be supposed the wines which he presented to his sovereign could be the juice of mere ordinary currants. He spent the whole year after his inthronization in repairing his houses, and *circa culturam terrarum plurimum insudavit**.

Whatever Mr. Pegge understood by the term *sicera*, or whatever it really signifies, it is plainly distinguished from *vinum*, which, in the passages of Giraldus and Huntingdon, is put for wine strictly, and not as a generical name comprehending all liquors: whereas, according to Mr. B's. ideas, we must transfer it from its obvious import to the juice of apples, though Malmsbury expressly marks the distinction. On the so much controverted passage of that author, I shall

* Dane Hist. Roff. in Aug. Sac. I. 361.

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only observe, that, besides the progression from corn to apples and grapes, it supposes apple-trees the natural growth of Glocestershire; but vines the effect of cultivation. It does not suppose vineyards in every county of England, but more in this than in any other; and the wine made from them might be more palatable than the French, without concluding the latter to have been sweet. *Dulcedo* is here only opposed to roughness, as Mr. B. himself admits, when applying it to cyder.—Florid as this description of Malmsbury is, it appears to be founded on the strictest truth: and I should be sorry to see it convicted of falsehood, any more than that similar, but at this time unaccountable, description of Thorney by the same author.

I must beg leave to differ from Mr. B. about the meaning of the word *tædiosus*. All the instances both in Ainsworth's Dictionary and du Cange's Glossary amount to Malmsbury's idea of it. *Tædium belli* in Livy*, *cæpti* in Ovid†, *laboris* in Quintillian‡, is a wearisomeness of war, enterprize, or labor, an unwillingness to continue them. But as this unwillingness may arise from other causes, Malmsbury critically ascertains his meaning by adding *per socordiam*: so that, if *tædiosus* signifies only a man tired of his work, *tædiosus per socordiam* is a man tired of his work by downright laziness, or a lazy fellow.

Mr. B. proceeds to controvert the word *vinitor* in the Dunstable Annals: but he seems not aware that the word he cites from Du Cange for a wine-merchant is *vinator*, not *vinitor*, which that Glossographer explains by αμπελαργος, a vine keeper or presser, or one who had the charge of wine, though his last instance seems to relate to dealers in wine. Though the instances relative to wine and vineyards among us are so few that there is no arguing from a single one whether the Dunstable *vinitores* were day labourers and villains, or smuggling vintners, Mr. B. will hardly suppose that the vinitores *ad dracones pugnantes*§, on the cup which Widaf gave to Croyland, were any other than vine-dressers.

In quoting honest Fuller as saying that "cyder was made in Glocestershire sooner than in any other county in England," (which however I do not find in the page referred to) Mr. B. omits all that he had said about wine which "formerly grew in this county, but doth not now; witness the many places therein called vineyards, whereof one most eminent nigh Glocester, the palace of the bishop; and it appears

* VIII. 2. † Met. IX. 615. ‡ II. 2. § Ingulph, p. 9.

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by ancient records that some towns in this shire paid rent-wines in great proportions; so that England, though it does not *ferre vinum*, is *ferax vini*, capable (especially in a hot summer) to produce it to good perfection."

The same author in the next page will also vindicate Malmsbury about the Higra in the Severn, on which see also Drayton's Poly-Albion there cited.

The notion of persons dying of poison was so prevalent in early times, and the fact so difficult to ascertain, that Robert de Sigillo, Bishop of London, and his company, might as well have died of a surfeit by eating ripe grapes, especially as, if we may judge from the election of his successor in October the same year, his death probably happened in the season of ripe grapes. We might presume that these grapes were the growth of London, notwithstanding the objection that "this great city, which was so many ages ago so considerable, seems to be a most ill chosen spot for such a kind of husbandry." Why might not a Bishop of London have a vineyard at his palace as well as a Bishop of Ely strawberries in his London garden? temp. R. 3. I believe nobody doubts the great areas occupied by the noblemen's houses and gardens in London so lately as Queen Elizabeth's reign. Add to this, that the great monasteries in London probably had their vineyards, as well as in other parts of the kingdom; and that the places which still retain the name of vineyard were without the walls of London*. Whoever attends to the stout walls which inclosed the ancient gardens, will think no difficulty in keeping a mob out of the most enticing vineyard, whose extent could not be comparable to a modern turnip or pea-field. Dr. James's vineyard must have been as much terra firma for an orchard, as for a vineyard. But this is only a single instance against many.

The site of the monastic buildings at Croyland is too much altered to trace the vineyard there: but a warm south west bank at Denney Abbey, situate, like Croyland, in the fens near Cambridge, still retains the name of the vineyard.

Without insisting on the wine produced at Winchester, or the derivation of the name of that city from it, the order to make ale for the Duke and Duchess of Saxony will no more prove that they drank no English wine than that they drank no wine at all.

* Vine-street, east Smithfield, Hatton-Garden: others in St. Giles's in the Field's, and in Piccadilly. The Vineyard by Houndsditch; that in Southwark, opposite the tower; a street in Richmond; and elsewhere in Surry.

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I come now to Mr. B's. strongest arguments against our native wines, that our Saxon ancestors had no name for the grape or the fruit of the vine. This he proves from the Latin word *uvas* being retained in the Saxon version of Matt. vii. 16. But in Fox's edition of the four gospels, in Saxon, 1571, 4to. this text stands thus:

Cwyst thu gatherath man winberian of thornum, oththe ficæpla of thyrncinnum.

and in the Pentateuch (Gen. xi. 10. Deut. xxxii. 32.) *winberie* and *winberige* are used for grapes, as well as in other authors cited in Lye's Dictionary. The citation under consideration is from a barbarous mongrel Saxon version, taken notice of by Hickes*. Allowing, however, that *uva* was retained in one place, can we suppose the Saxons, who made so frequent use of the word *win*, in compounds, relative both to the vine and the liquor produced by it, and called the wine press *wincale*, knew nothing of any wine made from the vines of this country, or neglected to cultivate them from any other reason than because, like the other northern nations of the continent, they preferred, or were more familiarized to, liquors made from corn. Mr. B. does not even suppose the Saxons *winberie* to be our native *ribes*, though he seems to hint the monk might latinize the *ribes* into *vitis*. But, surely, this is to suppose a monk of the 12th century as good a botanist as Mr. Ray: whereas, by Mr. B's. own account, the *vitis* and the *ribes* appear to be different genera.

But it is not for me to contend with botanists. My intention was only to vindicate the import of *vinea*, and to shew that it had one common application in the earliest and the latest, the purest and most barbarous, Latin writers. I shall only add, in confirmation of what has been already advanced, that there was not the least reason for applying it otherwise. Our records and our historians were as well acquainted with the words *pomærium* and *hortus*, as we can be with orchard and garden. Du Cange himself shall justify this assertion. "Pomærium est ubi poma nascuntur." Will. Brito in vocab. "Horticellus in quo sunt arbores pomorum." Cart. A. D. 1197, ap. Ughel. t. vii. p. 1272; and, which seems decisive, the Donationes Salisburg. c. 13, say, "Tradiderunt casam et curtum, *et vineam unam cum pomario* et alio parvo territorio super lacum:" and the charter of Bishop Gennadius, in Yepez Chron. Ord. S. Benedicti, t. iv. "Ædificia

* Thes. V. I. p. 94.

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instruxi, *vineas et pomares.*" Our word orchard is derived from the Saxon *orceard*, and that from an elder word *ort-geard*; q. d. *heort-geard*, a plantation of herbs*; so that its application to fruit-trees is of later date.

R. G.

Mr. URBAN,

I HAVE read with great satisfaction the controversy lately agitated concerning the culture of the vine in our island. But who shall decide, when such difference of opinion appears amongst men of approved abilities and eminent fame? Much may be said on the subject; yet as the disputants seem at present in perfect good humour with each other, perhaps more light may shortly be thrown upon the subject. Your intelligent correspondent Mr. G. has favoured us, in Nov. Magazine, with several observations new to me at least. I admire his ingenuity and critical sagacity; yet I apprehend he has committed a slight mistake in supposing that the *carme* or vineyards, of Engeddi, were only what he calls *proper vineyards*, by which phrase your readers must understand plantations appropriated solely to the culture of the vine: on the contrary, Dom. Calmet asserts, "that Engeddi, formerly Hazazon Thamar, that is to say, the City of Palm-trees, received its name from the great number of that species of tree which flourished in the place, and the vines of Cypress were not only found there, but several shrubs which produced balsam†."

A traveller, who was the contemporary of Calmet, and is not less distinguished for extent of erudition than accuracy of observation, the late Dr. Shaw, supposes the albanneh to be the cypress of the Canticles, common in Engeddi, and cultivated usually with the vine and other aromatic shrubs; a plant still in frequent use in oriental climates, and one of the cosmetics employed by the fair of the east, who, like the modern fine ladies of Britain, are solicitous to improve their personal charms, even at the expence of their health, though their ideas of beauty seem very different from those generally adopted here.

* Lye's Dictionary.

† Vide Dictionnaire de la Bible, edit. Geneve; 1730, tome 2. p. 343, art. Engeddi,—Josephus. Antiq. l. 9. c. 1, where Engeddi is said to produce not only the palm-tree, but the opobalsamum.—Pliny (lib. 12. c. 24.) describes the last-mentioned plant, which was brought into Italy by one of Vespasian's generals.—Herodotus says, that the beverage of the Egyptians was barley, the vine not being introduced into the country. He lived about 400 years before the building of Rome; but having forfeited credit as an historian, by the misrepresentation of facts, his testimony in this particular is less to be believed.

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Mr. G. is of opinion, that the French word *vigne* is always understood to mean a vineyard; and that it is by no means clear, that it should ever signify "a house including a small garden." If he will take the trouble to consult the learned lexicographers of that nation, I am apt to believe he will alter his opinion. Even Boyer, by no means the most diligent of compilers, has given us the word in this sense: *vigne*, Maison de Plaisance au tour de Rome. Others say, *On appelle Vignes les Maisons de Plaisance aux environs de Rome, et de quelques autres villes d'Italie: Vigne Pamphile, Vigne Aldobrandine, Vigne Borghese, La Vigne de Madame aupres de Turin.* To cite all the authorities of writers in justification of this sense of the word, would tire the reader's patience.

The names of streets in London and its suburbs, adduced by Mr. G. as proofs that vineyards were common to our ancestors, seem to prove much. Our city was not then so populous and well built as at present: many of the citizens had gardens annexed to their houses, especially those who resided at a distance from the centre of the metropolis; and our summers at that time ripened the grapes more kindly. Dr. Bulleyn, who died in 1576, relates that there was excellent fruit of this kind at Bloxhall, in Suffolk, of which parish he was rector from 1550 to 1554; and Suffolk, is well known to be a northern county. The attempt to cultivate the vine in this island, perhaps, has been rendered abortive as much by the unpropitiousness of the soil, and the unskilfulness of the managers, as by the unfavourableness of this northern climate.

The gloomy suburbs of London, indeed, appear a very improper site for a vineyard, "fuliginously black" with the smoke of a thousand chimnies; yet, only a few years since, a gentleman of Southwark is said, now and then, to have entertained his guests with wine extracted from his own grapes; and even those who were well acquainted with the wines of France, have commended it. His vineyard was not far distant from the banks of the Thames; but, after much time and money had been spent, the scheme, which yielded its projector a rational entertainment, and employed some of the indigent part of the commuity, was obliged to be relinquished. No vestige of this vineyard at present remains, though I am not certain whether it did not give name to the street mentioned by Mr. G. in his note, p. 515. If so, his descendants have converted the spot "where the vine once dropped her purple clusters through the green," to a purpose far more lucrative.

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These few observations may appear like "gleanings of grapes when the vintage is past*," and, perhaps, by the malignant critic may be thought unnecessary; however, if they are not too much out of season, be so kind as to communicate them to the public, and particularly to Mr. G.—I would not willingly give offence to him, or any of the gentlemen engaged in the dispute, nor can suppose any offence will be taken by their insertion. I acknowledge myself not violently attached to either party; but cannot avoid expressing my pleasure to see a controversy which promises innocent delight, if not obvious utility, conducted by persons of extensive knowledge as antiquaries, and singular politeness as gentlemen. And it would be happy for mankind, if every dispute was managed with as much temper, candour, and good-breeding.

1775, *Nov. Supp.* H. D.

LXXXII. A Saint whose emblems are naked Boys in a Tub.

Mr. URBAN,

THE very ingenious writer of observations in a journey to Paris, in Aug. 1776, just now published in 2 vols. 8vo. at p. 122 of vol. 2, begs to be informed, through the channel of your Magazine, who is the saint whose emblems are two naked children in a bathing-tub, and what these circumstances allude to?

The saint, no doubt, is St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Mira in Lycia, of whom I have a very large and fine French print, with the children and tub before him. I have also in my possession an Italian life of this saint, on the title-page of which 4to. book is the same picture: it is thus intituled, "Historia della Vita, Miracoli, Traslatione, e Gloria dell' illustrissimo Confessor di Christo S. Nicolo il Magno, Arcivescovo di Mira. Composta dal Padre Antonio Beatillo da Bari, della Compagnia di Giesù. Terza Editione. In Napoli. 1645."

I think I have discovered the occasion of the boys addressing themselves to his patronage at p. 73 of the book, where we are told the following story, which fully satisfied

* Isaiah 24, 13.—The ancient prophets and poets frequently mention vineyards: their allusions are too frequent to be transcribed here, but every person acquainted with the sacred writings will easily refer to them.

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my curiosity without proceeding any farther in a book of this sort, which contains between 4 and 500 pages in a small letter.

"The fame of St. Nicholas's virtues was so great, that an Asiatic gentleman, on sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to call on the bishop for his benediction: but they, getting to Mira late in the day, thought proper to defer their visit till the morrow, and took up their lodgings at an inn, where the landlord, to secure their baggage and effects to himself, murdered them in their sleep, and then cut them into pieces, salting them, and putting them into a pickling-tub, with some pork which was there already, meaning to sell the whole as such. The bishop, however, having had a vision of this impious transaction, immediately resorted to the inn, and calling the host to him, reproached him for his horrid villainy. The man, perceiving that he was discovered, confessed his crime, and entreated the bishop to intercede, on his behalf, to the Almighty for his pardon; who, being moved with compassion at his contrite behaviour, confession, and thorough repentance, besought Almighty God, not only to pardon the murtherer, but also, for the glory of his name, to restore life to the poor innocents, who had been so inhumanly put to death. The saint had hardly finished his prayer, when the mangled and detached pieces of the two youths were, by divine power, reunited, and perceiving themselves alive, threw themselves at the feet of the holy man to kiss and embrace them. But the bishop, not suffering their humiliation, raised them up, exhorting them to return their thanks to God alone for this mark of his mercy, and gave them good advice for the future conduct of their lives: and then, giving them his blessing, he sent them, with great joy, to prosecute their studies at Athens."

This, I suppose, sufficiently explains the naked children and tub; which I never met with in any of the legendaries that I have consulted before. The late learned and worthy Mr. Alban Butler, in his Lives of the Saints, vol. vi. p. 915, A. on December 6, only says, in general, that "St. Nicholas is esteemed a patron of children, because he was from his infancy a model of innocence and virtue; and to form that tender age to sincere piety, was always his first care and delight."

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

Milton, near Cambridge. W. C.

1777, *April.*

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LXXXIII. The Antiquity of the Woollen Manufacture in England.

Mr. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent, a Sceptical Englishman, doubts if the woollen manufacture was properly established in England before the reign of Edward III. In support of the opinion of the author of Observations on the Means of exciting a Spirit of National Industry, who contends that it was established in England at a much earlier period, I send you the following facts that have occurred in the course of my reading since I perused your Magazine for June last; and I doubt not but those, whose taste lead them more to the study of antiquities than mine does, could furnish many more of the same kind.

Mr. Anderson, in the book quoted above, observes, that there was a lawful guild-fraternity of weavers in London so early as the year 1180. But we learn from Mr. Madox, in his History of the Exchequer, that such guild-fraternities were established, not only in London, but in many other parts of the kingdom before that period. Thus,

1140. The Weavers of Oxford pay a mark of gold for their gild.

The Weavers of London for their gild £xvi.

The Weavers of Lincoln two chaseurs, that they might have their rights.

The Weavers of Winchester one mark of gold, to have their customs and liberties, and right to elect the alderman of their gild. And

The Fullers of Winchester £vi. for their gild.

Mad. Hist. Exch. p. 322.

These short notices indicate, that fraternities of weavers were at that time common in many parts of England, and were even then of great antiquity. The business of cloth-making must have been carried on to a considerable extent when it gave rise to a gild-fraternity of Fullers.

In farther confirmation of the great antiquity of the art of weaving in England, Gervase of Canterbury, who wrote about the year 1202, in his chronicle, col. 1349, says, when speaking of the inhabitants of Britain, that "*the art of weaving* seemed to be a peculiar gift bestowed upon them by nature." Thus it appears, that, at a period long prior to that which modern historians assign as the time when the woollen manufacture was introduced into Britain, it was an art that had been so long practised, as to be reckoned by its

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own inhabitants almost indigenous of the soil, if I may use this expression.

Sir Matthew Hale enables us in some measure to account for the origin of the modern idea on this head. For he remarks that, in the time of Henry II. and Richard I. this kingdom greatly flourished in the art of manufacturing *woollen cloth*; but, by the troublesome wars in the time of King John and Henry III. and also Edward I. and Edward II. this manufacture was wholly lost, and all our trade ran in wools and wool-fells and leather."

Prim. Orig. of Mankind, p. 161.

It is needless to observe, that a manufacture of such indispensable utility could not, in such a short period, be wholly lost in any country where it was once known. All that can be inferred from this expression is, that it declined very much, so as in a great measure to interrupt the foreign trade in cloth, which seems to have been a principal article of export from this kingdom at that early period. Edward III. restored this decayed manufacture, and hence he has come to be accounted the founder of it in England.

The above remark of Sir Matthew Hale perfectly agrees with the Magna Charta of Henry III. and the ordinance respecting the exportation of cloths, &c. by Edward I. as quoted by the author of Observations on National Industry, p. 236.

The richness and comparative importance of the fraternity of weavers in the period here alluded to may be guessed at from the following circumstances:

Anno 1159. The Weavers of London stand charged with iij marks of gold for the farm of their gild for two years; the Bakers of ditto with one mark and vj ounces of gold.

1164. The Weavers of London rendered £xij. per annum for the farm of of the gild. The Bakers of ditto, £vj. per annum.

Mad. Hist. Exch. p. 231.

In both these cases the weavers pay double of what is exacted from the bakers; hence it seems reasonable to infer that they were by much the richest fraternity of the two.

1189. The Fullers of Winchester pay ten marks for a confirmation of their privileges. Ib. p. 274. From this it appears that the fullers of Winchester still continued (see above, anno 1140) a powerful fraternity.

That the business of dying was also carried on in these days as a separate, honourable, and profitable employment, may be inferred from the following anecdote.

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Anno 1201. David the dyer pays one mark, that his manor may be made a burgage. *Ut supra*, p. 278.

At this early period, woad seems to have been very much employed as a material for dying: this plant was cultivated in Britain before the days of Julius Cæsar, and probably the cultivation of it would be much extended as it came to be more demanded for the woollen manufacture in latter periods; but this extended culture could not supply the encreasing demand for this drug, insomuch that it was for a great many ages a constant article of import, as the following instance among many others fully shews:

Anno 1213. The following sums were accounted for by sundries as customs for woad imported, viz.

In Kent and Sussex, Dover excepted,	£103	13	3
Yorkshire	98	13	4
London	17	13	4
Norfolk and Suffolk	53	6	0
Southampton	72	1	10
Essex	4	2	4

In all these places, therefore, the woollen manufacture seems to have been carried on to a great extent.

Many other anecdotes might be picked up in confirmation of this remark, among which are the following.

1140. The men of Worcester pay C. shillings, that they may buy and sell dyed cloth, as they were wont to do in the time of King Henry the I. Ut supra, p. 324. There is not the smallest reason to think that this was foreign dyed cloth, but British cloth as alluded to in the ordinance of Edward the I. quoted above 1284.

1225. The Weavers of Oxford pay a cask of wine, that they may have the same privileges they enjoyed in the days of King Richard and King John. Ib. p. 286.

1297. The aulnager of cloth was displaced, and his office given by the king to another. Ib. p. 338. The aulnager was a public officer appointed to inspect cloths, so as to see that they were true made according to statute. This indicates a very advanced state of the manufacture.

From these, and many other circumstances of the same kind that might be collected, there can be no room to doubt but that the woollen manufacture was carried on as a great national object for several ages before the days of Edward III. at which period our historians usually assert that it was first introduced into England. And it was probably owing to the interruption it met with during the troublesome reigns

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of John and his immediate succeſſors, that the manufacture came to be ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Netherlands as to obtain a ſuperiority over the woollen manufactures of Britain, which it retained many ages: and it was probably owing to this ſuperiority that our fore-fathers loſt the knowledge of many branches of this manufacture which it is evident they once poſſeſſed; of this kind eſpecially may be reckoned the art of dying and dreſſing cloths, which art was only revived in Britain in a very modern period.

If our hiſtorians have been thus miſtaken with regard to the manufactures of Britain, it will not appear ſurprizing that they ſhould fall into ſimilar miſtakes in regard to the manufactures of Ireland. It is generally believed that the woollen manufacture was introduced into this laſt country at no very diſtant period, and we find the firſt dawnings of it marked under the year 1376, in Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce. But that woollen cloth was manufactured in that country a long time before that period, is evident, from the following curious anecdote preſerved by Madox. Hiſt. Exch. p. 381.

In the reign of Henry III. (i. e. between 1219 and 1272,) Walter Bloweberme accuſed Haman le Starre of a robbery, &c. whereof the ſaid Haman had for his ſhare two coats, viz. one of Iriſh cloth, &c. Iriſh cloth was therefore known in England at this period, which is at leaſt one hundred years prior to that mentioned in the Hiſtory of Commerce.

Although it is ſtill doubtful whether the poems attributed to Rowley, a prieſt in the reign of Edward IV. are ſpurious or not; yet, as there has not yet appeared any irrefragable proofs that they are not genuine, I ſhall take notice of a few circumſtances that occur in them relating to this ſubject, as deſerving ſome degree of attention.

This author points out Lincoln as being a place then noted for its fine woollen manufacture: for the abbot of St. Godwin's who is repreſented as living in great pomp, has his dreſs thus deſcribed:

"His cope [cloak] was all of Lyncolne clothe ſo fine,
With a gold button faſten'd near his chynne;
His autremere [a looſe prieſt's robe] was edged with golden twynne," &c.

Ballad of Charitie, 50.

In confirmation of this anecdote, it appears, from many particulars preſerved in Hackluyt's collection, that about this time a very conſiderable trade in cloth was carried on between Boſton (the port of Lincoln) and Pruſſia, and other places in the Baltic.

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From another circumstance incidentally mentioned in this collection, it would seem that the art of knitting stockings was much sooner introduced into Britain than is generally imagined: for, in the song by Sir Shybbot Gorges, in the entrelude of Ælla, mention is thus made of it:

"As Elynour bie the green lesselle was syttynge,
As from the sone's heat she hurried,
She sayde, as her whyte hands whyte hozen was knyttinge,
What pleasure yt ys to be married!" &c. 208.

Now, although some will conclude that this is a plain proof of the forgery of these poems, because it mentions an art as common, which was only introduced into Britain in the days of Elizabeth; yet I would by no means draw the same inference, but would rather be induced to search with greater attention, to try to discover, by other means, if this art was then known in England: for, although the discovery of the art of knitting stockings in Britain is marked by the author of the History of Commerce about the year 1561, when Queen Elizabeth is said to have worn the first pair of hose of this kind; yet it ought to be remarked, that the same author marks the year 1376 as the æra of the introduction of the woollen manufacture into Ireland, and the year 1327 as the time when trades were first incorporated in London. But it has been proved above, from indisputable authority, that the woollen manufacture was established in Ireland, at least above a hundred years prior to the period he assigns to it; and that, at two hundred years before he mentions it, the practice of incorporating trades in London was considered as an old institution. Seeing he is thus mistaken in both these instances, why may he not also be mistaken in the third? I would therefore propose it as an exercise for some of your antiquarian readers, to ascertain whether this art was known in England at the time this poem is said to have been written, the proving or disproving of which will go far towards proving or disproving the authenticity of these poems.

As another praxis of the same kind, I would recommend the following lines from the same poem to their notice,

"Eache mornynge I ryse I set mie maydennes,
Some to spynn, some to curdell, some bleachynge," &c. 220;

as the last word seems to indicate that the linen manufacture was then carried on to some degree of perfection, though it deserves to be noted that it must have been far short of the woollen. The last was then a public institution, carried on by the several different artists; weavers, fullers,

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dyers, &c. the other seems to have been entirely a domestic manufacture, carried on in all its branches in a private family way.

I have thus, Sir, endeavoured to satisfy some of the doubts of your Sceptical Correspondent. From these remarks it will appear, that the author of the Observations, &c. on National Industry, although he differs very much from the common received opinion with regard to the origin of the woollen manufacture, has done so only in consequence of being better informed, in respect of that particular, than those writers who have hitherto treated of it. Hence, I think, there is reason to conclude that he is probably equally well informed as to the other particulars mentioned by your correspondent, the investigation of which I leave to others.

These topics, when fully discussed, will afford pleasure to

A Candid Enquirer.

1778, *August.*

LXXXIV. Historical Account of the Abbey of Evesham.

Mr. URBAN,

HAVING been presented with a curious MS. which was found among the papers of the late learned Oxford antiquary, Mr. Francis Wise, I send it to your valuable repository, not doubting but it will be readily accepted.

Yours, &c.

A Constant Reader.

A treatise of the Abbey of Evesham, written, as it seemeth, by some one of that house. Transcribed by that learned antiquary Mr. Thomas Talbot, and out of the Latin truly translated.

The abbey of Evesham was founded anno Dom. 709, in the time of Pope Constantine I. and in the time of St. Egwin III. Bishop of Worcester, who resigned his bishoprick to Wilfred, and was here ordained the first abbot. Kenredus and Offa, both kings, gave much land to St. Egwin, towards the foundation of this monastery; and, going to Rome with him in the time of his second voyage, both kings took on them the habit of religion. And all this was done anno Dom. 713, Constantine being then pope.

This was written the 826th year of the foundation of this

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monastery, being anno Dom. 1535; the 26th of Henry VIII. the 22d of Clement Litchfield, abbot of Evesham.

After the death of abbot Egwin, being the 18th abbot after St. Egwin, a certain wicked prince of this country, named Athelmus, obtained of King Edmund, son of King Edward the elder, this abbey; chaced the monks, the servants of God, from thence, and settled certain canons in their place. He being deceased, divers men, under sundry kings, with the power of the laity, possessed the monastery: as, one called Nilsius, a greedy devourer of the holy church; and Bishop Ophultius: and so from one power to another, contrary potentates, the state of this abbey was miserably distracted; until St. Ethelwold, by the command of King Edgar, and St. Dunstan, coming hither, made Oswald abbot here, anno Dom. 960; commending to him the lands and possessions which Athelmus, Christ's adversary, after the death of abbot Egwin, had taken away.

King Edgar departing this life, and Edward his son then reigning, a certain most sinful duke, named Alferas, who ruled with a mighty power this country, expulsing hence the monks again, placed here a few canons, bestowed on them, as it pleased himself, some part of the lands, reserving the rest to his own use. In the end, falling into sickness, and despairing of life, he called unto him a certain monk, named Feodegarus; and after he had conversed with him, gave him this abbey, with so much of the lands thereof as he had.—Abbot Feodegarus coming hither, did but a short time continue here; because, finding the clerks stronger than himself, he could not banish them thence.—Afterwards, one Godwyn, a mighty lord, coming to King Ethelred, gave him 300 marks of gold, upon condition he might have this abbey by the kings gift confirmed to him and his heirs for ever. The king, greedy of gold, granted to him this place. Godwyn, coming hither, subjected to him the priests; and making havock of the abbey's possessions, began to rule as he pleased. But after a little while the king gave this church to a bishop, called Agelsius; who, within a short time, incurring the king's displeasure, was thrown from the bishoprick, and passing the seas never returned. After this the king gave the same to a certain other bishop, named Athelston; who dying, Adolphus, Bishop of Worcester, got it of the king, and, first depriving it of its liberty, subjected it to his jurisdiction. This bishop made Africianus abbot of Evesham; after whose death abbot Alsgarus governed this monastery. But amongst all these passages, the aforesaid Godwyn ever possessed

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forty hides of land, so as neither bishops nor abbots could ever have any more than the church-rents; the rest of the living the priest held. Alsgarus leaving this life, Brithenarus, a certain abbot governed this religious house, who pleaded often against Godwyn before many princes of this country, alleging that he unjustly detained the church's lands; whereupon it was adjudged that he should pay Godwyn so much money as was paid by Godwyn to the king, and so recover, by law, the lands unto his church; which accomplishing willingly, these 40 hides were restored to the abbey. After this, abbot Athelwynus succeeded in his place; and Athelwynus dying, the fore-cited Godwyn, by his power, invaded again the abbey, and ravened on the lands and possessions. But at the length, King Ethelred ordained Aylesward, a monk of Ramsey-abbey; to be abbot of this monastery, anno Dom. 1014, which venerable man coming hither, by the assistance of Almighty God and the king, expelled Godwyn and regained all the lands: and after, under King Canutus, his kinsman, was made abbot, and a most holy Bishop of London, 6to kal. Augusti, A. D. 1044; and, lastly, buried at Ramsey. Mauricius, a monk of this place, succeeded, being elected by King Edward. This reverend man, as well for his learning in the sacred scriptures, as in very many other arts, as singing, writing, goldsmith's work, and such like, was reputed to excel almost all of this country. After a time, this abbot Mauricius, surprised with a grievous infirmity, made choice of one of his monks, named Egelwynus, (a man of approved life, both for the nobility of his blood and learning, in holy humane letters highly esteemed,) to undertake his pastoral office; and therefore sent him, with some of his brethren, (being honourable secular persons,) to King Edward, certifying how he was oppressed by violent sickness, and humbly praying him that he would absolutely commit the monastery to Egelwynus, and make him abbot in his place; which the king advisedly knowing, and condescending to his request, appointed Egelwynus to be abbot, and caused him to be honourably consecrated by Archbishop Aldred; and being ever after dearly beloved by the king and all his barons, was admitted among the king's especial friends, a privy counsellor. Mauricius survived seven years after this; and the same night and hour wherein King Edward passed out of the world, being Idus Januarij, 1065, he also, as it is said, died: and abbot Elgwyn departed this life 14 kal. Martij, A. D. 1077. Walter, a monk of the abbey, called Corasia, was then ordained abbot by King William,

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1086, and when he had almost eight years governed the church, he died 14 kal. Februarij, A. D. 1093. This abbot is mentioned in the doomsday-book, in the time of the conqueror. In his place succeeded Robert, a monk of Gimeges: in his time the market of Stow was obtained by Ralph, the king's chancellor. Robert died anno Dom. 1096. Maurice, a monk of this church, succeeded; died anno Dom. 1122. Reginald of Gloucester, nephew to Miles Earl of Hereford, followed, and went with him to Rome, in the time of Pope Innocent the second, in pursuit of a cause against Bishop Simon; and died 8 kal. Sept. 1149. The next abbot was William de Andevil, a monk of the church of Canterbury. This man, though unarmed, did, with a singular resolution, excommunicate William de Bello Campo, with his accomplices, to their very faces, though armed, when they destroyed the walls of the church-yard, and in time of war made the church's goods their prey; whereupon not one of them departed this life according to christian religion and christian rites. He won, also, courageously, the castle of Bengworth, which was raised at the end of Evesham-bridge, from William de Bello Campo; and razing it down caused a church-yard to be consecrated in the place. He passed out of this life 2 non. Jan. A. D. 1160.

After him was Adam Clunacensis de Charitate. This man saw more happy times, and in his days the abbey was blest with many benefits; and when he had almost 30 years in all tranquillity governed this church, he closed his life 2 id. Nov. 1191. Roger surnamed Novicus, succeeded, some time a monk of the church of Canterbury, but for his wickedness thrown there into prison; whence breaking away by flight through the privies, he got his liberty, and lost his house by expulsion, and so remained a monk of no monastery afterwards, no college acknowledging him theirs, nor receiving him. He was by the royal power, as an intruder, promoted to be abbot of Evesham; the convent of the abbey, as far as they could, renouncing him. This abbot shewed himself a man of high mind, and seemed to abound in variety of learning; but in the end, for his tyranny, drunkenness, luxury, and dilapidation of the goods of the abbey, and other enormities, he was deposed by Nicholas, Bishop of Tusentum, being here the bishop's legate upon occasion of business concerning the church of England; and from an abbot became prior of Bengnorth Peaworth, A. D. 1213, the whole convent rejoicing thereat; and after three years, finishing his life, he was there buried.

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—Roger thus deposed, a reverend and virtuous man, named Ralph, a prior of the church of Worcester, and born at Evesham, succeeded, and was confirmed in his place with benediction of an abbot, by Nicholas, Bishop of Tusentum, the bishop's legate; and was, at York, A. D. 1221, consecrated abbot by the Bishop of Chichester; and, having been a governor in the church 15 years, died 6 kal. Jan. 1229.

After him Thomas de Marlborough, prior of this monastery, was chosen abbot, yet could not be admitted but by the court of Rome. Whereupon, with a derogation from the jurisdiction of the archbishop, he had the next year the benediction of an abbot, by the Bishop of Coventry. Before this, this man was a student, and learned in both the laws, who died 2 id. Sep. 1236, having been abbot 7 years, and lies buried in the body of the church, and in the south wall, under the image of a bishop wrought in marble. Richard Le Gicoss, prior of Huckley, succeeded. This abbot was much employed in the service of King Henry the third, as well on this side as beyond the seas. He was lord chancellor of England; and, lastly, in the parts of Gascoinge, entered the way of all flesh, 5 id. Dec. 1242, when he had sat abbot 6 years.

After him Thomas de Glancer, a monk of this same house, was chosen, and the next year confirmed abbot, by Bishop Innocent the 4th; and, by the same bishop's command, received the benediction of this abbey from the Bishop of Ely, the bishop having first taken the oath of obedience; neither could he yet obtain of the king his temporalities untill the king received afterwards from the bishop a special mandate: therefore this Thomas holding his place almost 14 years, died 18 kal. Jan. 1255; buried in the midst of the body of the church. Henry, prior of this monastery, was afterwards confirmed abbot by Bishop Alexander the 4th, who, when he had 7 years wisely and worthily governed, went blessedly to our Lord, id. Nov. 1263, and lieth buried in the body of the church. Abbot Henry leaving this life, the church of Evesham endured a long vacancy. In the end, about the feast of the holy cross, in autumn, A. Dom. 1266, the legate Ottoban came to Evesham, and there ordained Sir William de Whitechurch, once a monk of Pershore, the abbot of Alncester, now abbot of Evesham, who, remaining in his seat 16 years, died 3 non. Aug. 1282, and was buried in the midst of the body of his church. John de Brickhampton, a monk of this house, succeeded, who was confirmed abbot at Rome by Bishop Martin the 4th;

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and in the end, concluding in a good old age, took his last sleep 15 kal. Sept. 1316. William de Cheriton was after elected abbot, 3 kal. Sept. being before a monk of this house, and was on Quadragesima Sunday confirmed in his place by Bishop John 22d. After he had ruled his church here 28 years, he ended in peace his life, id. Dec. 1344.

William de Boys, a monk of the same house, was three weeks after the decease of William de Cheriton, 3 kal. Jan. with a general assent elected abbot; and on Palm-Sunday next following, at Avinton, confirmed by Bishop Clement the 6th. Returning into England, he was with great reverence and honorably received at home by the brethren of the monastery, and on Whit-Sunday honorably installed. Wearied in the end with grievous sickness, he died 8 id. Junij, 1367, and was buried by Lewes, Bishop of Hereford, in the body of Evesham church, before St. Egwyn's altar, 12 kal. Julij, under a marble stone. He was abbot 22 years and a half. John de Ombersley, a monk and cellarer of this same house, canonically chosen by the convent the 4th of July next ensuing, and received 15 kal. Aug. by the hands of the Bishop of Lincoln, the gift of his benediction at Banbury, and in the calends of the same month installed at Evesham, who residing there 12 years, he died anno Dom. 1379, and lieth buried in the middle of the body of the same church.

Ombersley departing this world, Roger Zotton, a very religious man, and a sacrist of this house, was, 12 kal. Dec. by the full consent of the convent, elected abbot, and accepted afterward by the king, according as their privilege appointed. He received at London his benediction by the Bishop of Lincoln, and was on Christmas-eve honorably installed in the monastery of Evesham. And when he had lived above 39 years after his election, and governed his church, after a long life, died in the Lord on the day of St. Chrysogon the martyr, being 8 kal. Dec. 1418, anno 5 Hen. V. about 9 of the clock, and was buried in the midst of the body of the church.

In the next week after, on St. Nicholas-day, 8 id. Dec. Richard Bromsgrove, being the infirmary of this house, was with a joint consent chosen abbot, and received his benediction in his own church of Bengnorth by the Bishop of Bangor, then chancellor of Oxford, and on Christmas-day was honorably installed. And having 17 years resided here, he died 10th May, 1435, and is interred in St. Mary's chapel, at the steps to the altar.

Sir John Nickwan, prior of this house, was, 12 kal. Jan.

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chosen abbot, that is to say, on St. Thomas the apostle's day; and at Dangersweld, by the Bishop of Bath, then chancellor of England, received his benediction. This abbot having above 26 years continued in the place of authority, spinning out a long life, and wearied with grievous sickness, in his blessed old age ended his days An. D. 1460; and in the chapel of the blessed Mary, before the image of St. Catharine, his body was recommended to ecclesiastical funerals.

After him was a man of most worthy honour, Richard Pembroke, having his grace to be Doctor of Divinity. He was chosen by the general voice of the whole convent 30th of May, 1460; and on the 8th of April in the year following, receiving his benediction by the Bishop of Hereford, was with due honour installed. He governed this monastery 7 years, and dying the 7th of May, 1467, the 7th of Edward the IVth, was buried in the body of this church.

Richard Hawkesbury, prior, was elected abbot A. D. 1467, and, being blessed by the Bishop of Lincoln, on Tuesday the 6th of Aug. was with due reverence installed. He ruled this church 10 years, and died the 6th of April, 1477, the 17th of Edward the IVth.

William Upton, a monk of this house, and prior of Alncester, was chosen about the 18th of April 1477, the 17th of Edward the IVth, and was consecrated by John, Bishop of Bericons, in the chapel of the rectory of St. Christopher's, London, near the stocks, the 6th of May, being Saturday before the Rogation; and the 10th of May he was honorably installed. He was abbot only 5 years; in the 5th year he died, the 11th of August, 1483, and 22d of Edward the IVth, and was buried in the church between the font and the altar.

John Norton, prior of the cloyster, was elected abbot the 4th of Sept. 1483, the 1st of Richard the IIId. was consecrated by the Bishop of———and the 1st of October next following was with due honour installed. This abbot first instituted the feast of the visitation of St. Mary to be yearly celebrated, and on the vigil of the same visitation (as he earnestly desired) closed the last day of his life. He was abbot 8 years, and died the 2d of July, 1491, and the 7th of Henry the VIIth, and was buried in the body of the church, at the greeses* to the altar of Jesus.

Thomas Newbold, cellarer of this monastery, was chosen

* Stairs or steps.

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abbot the 8th of July, 1491, and 7th of Henry the VIIth, and consecrated by the Bishop of Hereford; the 10th of September following was installed. He governed above 22 years, and died a sudden death, the 6th of December, in the night of St. Nicholas, 1513, and lieth buried in the body of the church, at the head of John Norton.

Clement Lichfield, prior of this house, was by the convent chosen abbot on St. Innocents-day, the 28th of Dec. 1513; who, receiving his benediction, by the Bishop of Assalon, on the day of St. Maurus, was installed with due reverence and honour. This man having obtained the degree of a bachelor, was endowed with singular learning. He built a school for the education of children, assigning rents for the maintenance of a schoolmaster.

So far the writer out of whose Latin I translated this.

Lichfield afterwards resigning his dignity, abbot Philip succeeded him: in whose time this monastery, with the reigns of all other religious houses in England, perished. This Clement Lichfield over-lived his monastery of Evesham, which had continued, as before is specified, 826 years: saw himself deprived of his house, and the sate* of the monastery given, in the 34th of King Henry VIIIth, by that sacrilegious king, to Sir Philip Hobby, who, enriched with the spoils of this and other abbies, died without Jesus†. Neither yet did he leave these to his second brother, Mr. William Hobby, but conveyed all to his third brother, Sir Thomas Hobby, whose son and heir, Sir Edward Hobby, deprived all our shire‡ by seal to others.

And now to return to Clement Lichfield. His goodly church, where so many of his predecessors lie buried (as before exactly described,) with Simon Mountfort, that mighty Earl of Leicester, is so absolutely overthrown, as that there remaineth nothing but a huge deal of rubbish overgrown with grass. He erected, in the church of All-Saints, in Evesham, a little but most curious chapel, at whose door he lieth humbled in the earth; where is mentioned, that in his time the new tower of Evesham was built, which is yet untouched. But, to shew the magnificence of this abbey, which, seated once pleasantly on the western rising bank of the river Avon, brought first to light, and nourished under her, this fair tower of Evesham, which now flourisheth. Let us but guess what this monastery, now dissolved, was in former days, by the gate-house, yet remaining; which,

* Site. † Issue. ‡ Worcester.

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though deformed with age, is as large and stately as any at this time in England. This abbey of benedictine monks was immediately subordinate to the pope; and the abbot thereof a great baron of parliament.

At the end of the MS. are the four following instruments; which being already in print, we shall only give their titles, and refer the reader to the places where they may be found.

1. "The Epistle of Constantius, Bishop of Rome, to Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Vision of Egwyn, the Calling of a Council, with the Institution of a MONASTERY." See in Monast. Anglic. vol. I. p. 144. "Bullam Papæ Constantini Saxonico charactere scriptum." See also Spelman's Concilia, vol. I. p. 209. and Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 71.

2. "The History of the General Synod or Provincial Council of England, celebrated at a place called Alncester commonly, now Alcester, by Brythwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wilfred, of York, wherein the Donations of the new-born Monastery of EVESHAM are confirmed." See Wilkins's Concilia, vol. I. p. 72.

3. "The Charter of King Kenred and King Offa for the Lands wherein the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared to Bishop Egwyn, with very much more conferred on the Monastery of EVESHAM in the Lateran Church, being all confirmed by Pope Constantine." See Monast. Angl. vol. I. p. 145.

4. "The Charter of Egwin, Bishop of Wiccians (or Worcestershire,) wherein he mentioneth his Vision, with the foundation and Donations of his Monastery." See Monast. Angl. vol. I. p. 145.

1778, *Oct.*

LXXXV. Curious Questions answered by T. Row.

MR. URBAN,

I SHALL esteem myself fortunate, if, by inserting this letter in your truly useful Miscellany, I should gain information upon three or four articles that I have long and in vain sought. I am confident that the learned Mr. Row, who has so ably illustrated many valuable and curious parts of ancient learning, can gratify me in this request, if the following inquiries can claim his notice.

How long has the Rose been part of the Clerical habit; and is it peculiar to the English Clergy?

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Why is Maunday-Thursday called Shier-Thursday in Collier's Eccles. Hist. V. ii. p. 197?

Are the letters N. or M. in our Catechism, initials of Christian names? If not, why are they selected in preference to all others?

I have frequently met with allusions to a ceremony in the Conclave, that of opening and shutting the mouth of a new-made Cardinal; and wish much to see a circumstantial account of this singular rite. It reminds me of the seven years' silence enjoined to learners by Pythagoras, and of the one year's silence observed by our advocates in Ecclesiastical courts.

I remain, Sir, with many thanks for the obligations received from your labours,

Your most devoted servant,

CANTIANUS.

MR. URBAN,

YOUR correspondent Cantianus entertains a higher opinion of my petty performances in your Magazine than they can possibly deserve; however, as he has thought fit to mention my name, I will try to give some sort of answer to his queries, though far, as I fear, from satisfactory.

Q. "How long has the rose been part of the clerical habit; and is it peculiar to the English clergy?"

A. The rose was anciently thought an emblem of secrecy, as sacred to amours, or to Venus. Potter's Antiq. II. p. 385. Charles Howard, now Duke of Norfolk, p. 96 of Anecdotes. Now, in this view, one would suppose the rose to come into use when *auricular confession* was practised here, i. e. before the Reformation, the father confessor being ever obligated to the strictest silence, as to all matters revealed to him, though he did not always think himself so in fact, but would sometimes abuse his trust, Fox, Martyrolog. II. p. 237. Hence however, I presume, came the expression, *under the rose be it spoken*; unless you will suppose it derived from the rose placed in entertaining rooms *above* the table, formerly, to signify that what was there spoken should be kept private. See Archbishop Potter, l. c. The rose, I apprehend, is peculiar to the English clergy, (of this, however, I am not certain,) but is now going more and more into disuse, even amongst them.

Q. "Why is Maunday-Thursday called Shier-Thursday in Collier?"

A. Colgrave calls it, by a word of the same sound and

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import, *Sheere-Thursday.* Perhaps, for I can only go upon conjecture, as *Sheer* means *purus, mundus,* it may allude to the washing of the disciples feet, John xiii. 5, seq. and be tantamount to *clean.* See v. 10; and Lye's Dict. v. *seir.* If this does not please, the Saxon *seiran* signifies *dividere,* and the name may come from the distribution of alms upon that day. For which see Archæol. Soc. Antiq. I. p. 7, seq. Spelman. Gloss. v. *Mandatum*; et Du Fresne, IV. p. 400. Please to observe, too, that on that day they also washed the altars; so that the term in question may allude to the business. See Collier's Eccl. Hist. II. p. 197.—*Cantianus* may chuse any of these he pleases; or he has my leave to reject them all.

Q. "Are the letters N. or M. in our Catechism, initials of Christian names? If not, why are they selected in preference to all others?"

A. They *represent* Christian names (and accidentally may prove initials of them), for so Archbishop Wake, and Dr. S. Clarke, to mention no more, understand them. Dr. Duport gives, ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα, i. e. *such or such.*—N. I have observed, for *Nomen,* is commonly inserted in forms or precedents, in the place where the name of the party is to be mentioned, and therefore obviously occurred; as to M. it is arbitrary, and was owing to mere chance. It would have been as well to have put it *M. or N.* or *A. or B.* as either of these would be plainer, and have forestalled all doubt.

Q. "I have met with allusions to a ceremony in the conclave, that of opening and shutting the mouth of a new-made Cardinal; and wish much to see a circumstantial account of this singular rite."

A. The best account I have seen of this business is p. 75. of a fol. book, entitled, *Il Cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa,* printed anno 1670; where, after the Cardinal is *nominated,* and indeed *created,* he stays at home till the next *public* consistory; to which he marches with a very great train, to receive the red cap from the hands of his holiness. Now, please to observe, "In the first private consistory after the public, the Pope did use to *stop up the mouths, as it were, of the new Cardinals,* by putting his finger upon them; by that ceremony forbidding them to speak their opinion in the consistories or congregations for some time, and depriving them both of their active and passive voices," &c. See there what follows about opening the mouths of the young Cardinals by Pope Pius Quintus, A. 1571.

This, Sir, I hope, may prove sufficient for the information of your friends; I, however, can proceed no further than

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just to observe, that in stating the question *shutting the mouth* ought to precede the *opening*; and that the ceremony of *shutting* respected the consistories and congregations, as well as the conclave.

Yours, &c.

1779, *April, July.* T. Row.

LXXXVI. On the Curfew.

Mr. Urban,

THE late Mr. Gostling, of Canterbury, was a worthy man, and well respected for his good-nature and pleasantry; but, at the same time, he was very sanguine, and not a little opinionated, insomuch that, when he had taken a thing into his head, it was not an easy matter to drive it out. He was a great collector of antiquities; and, in a long life, had amassed a considerable number of curious antique articles. Amongst other matters, he had gotten a piece of household furniture, of copper, which he was pleased to call a *curfew*; and his friends, on account of his years and good-humour, did not care to contradict him. This implement has since been engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. I. p. 89, and *F. G.* who communicated the drawing to the conductor of that work, having without scruple adopted the old gentleman's notion of it, has described it as a *curfew*, from its use of suddenly putting out a fire; and says, "Probably *curfews* were used in the time of William the Conqueror, who, in the first year of his reign, directed that, on the ringing of a certain bell, all persons should put out their fires and candles."

Now, Sir, authors agree in the institution of the *curfew-bell*, by William the Conqueror; and it was doubtless a good stroke of policy, imitated afterwards by others on like occasions*: but they call it *the corfeu-bell*, or *the corfeu*, in which latter short expression either *bell* is understood, or the time of night, or the injunction for putting out the fire, is meant. However, not a word is said by any of them, of any particular implement made use of for the purpose of ex-

* Antiqu. Repertory, p. 216. As to the use of *corfeu* in other countries, see Du Fresne, v. Ignitegium.

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tinguishing the fire; nor do we meet with the name of *corfeu*, as an implement, in any ancient writer whatsoever; and thereupon I incline to think there never was any such.

But, you will ask, for what use, then, could this old piece of household serve? I answer, you have heard of baking bread or cakes, or other matters, under embers;* and the same is practised now-a-days in most counties where they burn wood. They make clean a place in the hearth, lay the bread upon it, cover it with something (this implement, for example) to keep the ashes from it, and then rake a proper quantity of coals and ashes upon it. This will account for those "others of the kind still remaining in Kent and Sussex †," and, in my opinion, for the true use of Mr. Gostling's implement, which does not appear to me, to judge from its elegance in the draught, to be of any such great antiquity as the practice of the *corfeu* introduced by the Conqueror, since this ceased, as I suspect, temp. Henr. Primi, (for so I understand those words of Knyghton, "Lucernarum usum *tempore Patris sui intermissum* restituit de nocte in curia sua‡,") though the ringing of the bell continued, and even does so to this day, in many places.

Yours, &c.

1779, *Aug.* T. Row.

LXXXVII. Yew-trees in Church-Yards, their probable use.

Mr. Urban, *Dec.* 1.

THE large yew-trees that we see in some church-yards have been supposed to have been originally planted there, either to protect the churches from storms, or to furnish the parishioners with bows. Neither of these reasons seem satisfactory. The slow growth of these trees seems to render them improper for the first purpose: besides, if that had been the design, we should probably have seen the

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* Genesis XVIII. 6. and Bishop Patrick ad loc. Calmet, Dict. v. Eating.

† Antiqu. Repert. p. 90.

‡ Hen. Knyghton, inter X. Script. col. 2314. See Stow, Hist. p. 135. Malmesbury, p. 156, who, for *tempore patris*, has *tempore fratris*. Knyghton, however, evidently transcribes William of Malmesbury.

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church-yards better furnished with them, than they now are; it being very rare to meet with above one or two of them in the same place. It cannot indeed be denied, but that when they are grown to a great size, their thick foliage may be a good protection from storms, and accordingly, in the Observations on the more ancient Statutes, we are informed, that, upon felling the yew-trees in a country church-yard in Wales, the roof of the church suffered excessively. But though perhaps, in a few parishes, more than usual of these trees might for some reason or other be planted in church-yards; yet, as I observed, their slow growth, and the few remains of them at present, give reason to believe, that they were not in general planted for that purpose. The statute of 13 Ed. I. that settles the property of trees in church-yards, recites indeed that they were often planted "to defend the force of the wind from hurting of the church;" but is so far from giving room to think that yews were planted for such defence, that it appears, that the trees in question were such as were fit for the repairs of the church and chancel, and were to be cut down for no other purpose.

Nor am I better satisfied, that yews were planted in church-yards to furnish bows: at least, our ancient legislators appear not to have ordered such plantations; for though there are several laws that encourage archery, and condescend so far as to regulate many very minute particulars relative to bows and arrows, yet I cannot find any statute or proclamation that directs the cultivation of the yew-tree in any place whatever; whereas, James I. when he hoped to introduce the manufacture of silk among us, wisely ordered that church-yards should be planted with mulberry-trees for the use of the parish. On the contrary, our old laws, though full of complaints of the scarcity and dearness of bowstaves, instead of ordering the cultivation of the yew-tree at home, oblige merchants to import materials for bows from abroad. I shall quote some passages from these statutes as curiosities. One in 12 Edward IV. recites, that the King had perceived, by a petition from the commons, the great scarcity and excessive price of bowstaves, and therefore ordains, that every merchant stranger that shall convey into this land any merchandise of the city or country of Venice, or of any other city, town, or country, from whence any such bowstaves have been before this time brought, shall bring at the same time four bowstaves for every tun of such merchandise. Another in the reign of Richard III. informs us, that upon the bowyers represent-

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ing that in times past good and able stuff of bowstaves had been brought into this realm, as well by English merchants as strangers, whereby the inhabitants bowyers might competently live upon such stuff, which they bought at 40s. or 46s. 8d. a hundred at most; but which then, by the seditious confederacy of Lombards, were at the outrageous price of 8l. the hundred; so that in a short time this realm was like to fail as well of stuff of artillery, as of workmen thereof—it was ordained, that no merchant of Venice, nor other which used to repair into this realm with merchandises of those parts, shall bring into this realm any such merchandises, unless he brought at the same time ten bowstaves, good and able stuff, with every butt of Malmsey, and with every butt of Tire. The complaint of the scarcity and dearness of bows occurs also in the reign of Elizabeth; who, therefore, in her 13th year, ordered the statute of 12 Edward IV. to be put duly in execution: and declared that all merchant strangers, using to bring wares into this realm from the East parts, as well as from the seventy-two Hanse-Towns, were comprised and meant under the name of such merchants as were bound by the said statute.

From the above extracts it appears, that we depended principally upon imported bowstaves for our best bows; which one would think needed not to have been the case, if our church yards had been well stocked with yew-trees, besides considerable quantities of them that were scattered about various parts of the kingdom in a wild state, and the plantations which individuals must of course have made of a commodity that bore a good price. But the truth is, though our archers were the glory of the nation, and the terror of its enemies, yet the English yew was of an inferior goodness, and our brave countrymen were forced to have recourse to foreign materials. I shall produce but one proof, and that a decisive one, of this inferiority. Elizabeth, in her 8th year, in "an act of Bowyers," thus settles the prices of bows: *bows* meet for men's shooting, *being outlandish yew*, of the best sort, not over the price of 6s. 8d. *each*; *bows* meet for men's shooting, of the second sort, 3s. 4d; bows for men, of a coarser sort, called livery bows, 2s.; *bows being English yew*, 2s*. This accounts for the silence

* In 33 Hen. VIII. 3s. 4d. seems to have been the highest price of a bow; for then it was ordered, that no Bowyer should sell any bow of yew, *of the tax called Elk*, for more than that price. A friend of mine informs me, that he has seen in Scotland very ancient bows of the Douglasses that were very long and heavy, and must have consumed the heart of a very considerable tree to make one.

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of our ancient legislators with respect to the culture of the English yew, which, as far as I can perceive, was never an object of national concern; and which with other inferior woods was rather used for domestic exercise and practice, than relied upon for deeds of valour in the field of battle. But, if the custom of planting yew-trees in church-yards for the purpose of archery had even partially prevailed, and been found useful, it is almost impossible but that some of the statutes on that subject must have recited it, and encouraged its further extension; and we should in consequence have seen more considerable remains of them in those places than at present hardly any where occur. Indeed the opinion I have been combating is, as far as the few books I have an opportunity of consulting enable me to judge, of a very modern date. Gerard mentions their growing in church-yards, where they have been planted. Evelyn only says, that its propagation has been forborne since the use of bows has been laid aside. Sir Thomas Brown, in his Urn Burial, thinks "it may admit conjecture, whether the planting of yews in church-yards had not its original from ancient funeral rites, or as an emblem of resurrection from its perpetual verdure." He appears not to have ever heard of their being planted there for bows; for, if he had, he could scarcely have avoided mentioning it upon this occasion. What truth there may be in Sir Thomas's conjecture, which is adopted by the ingenious and inquisitive editor of the Antiquitates Vulgares of Mr. Bourne—how our countrymen came to excel in the use of instruments, the best of which they were forced to have from abroad—and why the yew-tree, which loves *Aquilonem et Frigora*, was not of as good quality in England, as in other parts—with some other questions that this little essay may involve, are matters that I am not at present prepared to discuss; but proceed to offer my own thoughts upon those venerable yew-trees that are still to be seen in some of our church-yards.

In this country there used to be formerly (as in catholic countries there still is) a procession on Palm-Sunday, in memory of our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem, when branches of Palm-trees were strewn in his way; and it was a ceremony retained after some others were dropped: for *bearing* of *Palms* on Palm-Sunday was one of the laudable customs which Henry VIII. in 1536 declared was not to be contemned and cast away: and Wheatley informs us from Collier, that *Palms were* used to be *borne* here with us till

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2 Edward VI. The Rhemish translators of the New Testament mention also the *bearing of Palms* on this day in their country when it was catholic; and Mr. Bourne abovementioned, who wrote about 60 years ago, says, that they now and then on a Palm-Sunday saw the young people *carrying branches of Palms* in their hands; and an old MS. quoted in 3d Vol. of Horda Angel-Cynnan, says, "wherfor holi chirche this daye makyth solempne processyon, in mynde of the processyon that Cryst made this dey; but for enchesen that we hav noone Olyve that bearith greene leves, therefore *we taken Palme*, and geven insteade of Olyve, *and beare it about in processyon*, so is this daye called Palme Sonday." From these passages it is evident, that something called a Palm was carried in procession on Palm-Sunday. What the last writer means by our having no Olive that beareth green leaves, I do not so well know; however, what he calls a Palm was substituted. Now it is my idea, that these Palms, so familiarly mentioned, were no other than the branches of yew-trees. Some author I have read makes mention of a few of the true Palm-trees growing at Rome, from which the Pope and a few of the higher Cardinals are supplied with branches on Palm-Sunday, while the rest are forced to be contented with the succedaneum of some other evergreen. Sprigs of box, says the editor of Mr. Bourne, are still used as a substitute for Palms in Roman Catholic countries. With us, in the north, the children go out into the fields, the week before this Sunday,* a *palmsoning* or *palmsning*, as they call it, and gather the flowering buds of the sallow; because perhaps in some of those parts they are the only things at this season in which the power of vegetation can be discovered. And why should not the branches of the yew-tree also be good substitutes, and assume the name of their principles; they are not only always green, but in blossom too, as early as they can be wanted for this ceremony; and being planted near the church would be always ready at hand. For this purpose (as now for decking the church at Christmas) one or two trees would be fully sufficient, which is the usual number we meet with in one church-yard; and that they actually were made this use of is extremely probable, from those in the

* This custom is not peculiar to the north, being still a common practice in the neighbourhood of London. The young people go a-palming; and the Sallow is sold in London-Streets for the whole week preceding Palm-Sunday.
EDITOR.

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church-yards in East Kent (where there are some very large and old) being to this day universally called palms; and if they should go under the same name in other parts, my conjecture would receive a very great additional force.

I wish, Sir, what I have here suggested may attract the attention of some of your correspondents, who may be able to throw more light on the subject.

I am, &c.

A. B.

SIR,

YOUR correspondent A. B. has gone deeply into the subject of yew-trees in church-yards, and his essay is both entertaining and instructive. It may be said with propriety, he hath fairly and candidly demolished the two current opinions concerning them, that they were "originally planted there to protect the churches from storms, or to furnish the parishioners with bows." But as it is always easier to pull down than to build, he does not seem to have succeeded so well in his own conjecture upon them, "that their branches were intended to be used on *Palm-Sunday*," for this plain reason, the bearing of Palms, on Palm-Sunday, was an act of joy and ovation in remembrance of our Saviour's triumphant entry into Jerusalem; whereas the yew is not only a tree of baleful influence, whence Statius terms it,

———metuendaque succo
Taxus—*.

but it is too much of a funeral nature, to be made a substitute for the joyful palm. But you will say, the ill-smelling box is applied in some countries to the same purpose, and is equally funeral, and therefore why not the yew? I answer, whatever may be the custom in foreign countries, box never was used here, that we knew of, in the processions on Palm-Sunday, neither does it ever appear in our church-yards, which it certainly would in that case as well as the yew, upon A. B.'s hypothesis; ought not the box, on this supposition, to occur as frequently in church-yards as the yew? This objection is therefore invalid.

* Statius, VI. v. 91. and see Mr. Evelyn, passim.

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But what then, you will ask, was the intention of planting yews in church-yards, if their branches were not used on Palm-Sunday? It is with the utmost diffidence, Mr. Urban, that I deliver my opinion on this disputable question; however, sensible as I am of your great indulgence towards all your numerous correspondents, I shall venture to tell you my thoughts. Now I take it, as A. B. does, that yews specifically were not planted in church-yards, for the purpose of protecting the fabric of the church from storms, though in the event they proved subservient to that end. But my conception is, that on the first planting of trees there, whenever that was, for I do not pretend to specify the time, various kinds were introduced, and in some places the yew amongst the rest. Considering the slowness of the growth of this tree, and the immense bulk of some of them, one has reason to think they may be as old as the Norman conquest. Supposing then the yew to be once planted in certain cemeteries, when the statute of 35 E. I. A. D. 1307, began to operate, whereby leave was given to fell or cut down trees in church-yards, for building and repairs; the timber trees adapted to that purpose would of course be taken down from time to time, so that the yews at last, and in our days, would be the only trees left standing. These, as unfit for the uses prescribed, would consequently remain, and afterwards as an ever-green, be thought *an emblem of the resurrection*, and even acquire some degree of regard and veneration.

1779, *Dec.*
1780, *Feb.*

T. Row.

LXXXVIII. Curious Specimen of early Printing.

We are happy to communicate to the public the following very curious Letter on a subject in which we are professionally interested, and which, we doubt not, will be agreeable to our learned readers.

To Thomas Astle, Esq.

Dear Sir, *Jan.* 15, 1781.

Give me leave to congratulate you on your fortunate acquisition of a block which was used in the very infancy of

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printing, when the quotations and necessary explanations were cut in the same piece of wood with the subject represented, before moveable types were invented.

Yours, Sir, is for the second leaf of the "Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque Visiones Apocalypticæ," generally called "The Apocalypse;" in the upper part of which St. John is represented as being carried before the Præfect, with this inscription; "Trahamus Johannem ad Præfectum qui Ydolorum culturam adnichilavit;" and in the lower, St. John is embarking to be transported to Rome, over which is written, "S. Johannes Romam mittitur, ac Domiciano imperatori crudelissimo Christianorum persecutori præsentatur."

This, M. Maittaire [in his Annales Typographici, p. 20.] imagines to be the oldest of the four books which were the first attempts of the Art of Printing; the second being the "Speculum humanæ Salvationis," illustrated with subjects from the Old and New Testaments, and with the Prologues and Explanations in Latin Rhymes [this is known by the name of "Speculum Salutis," or "La Bible des Pauvres;"] the third book is of the same cuts, with Dutch Prose; and the fourth the "Ars moriendi," or "Speculum morientium," in which the good and bad Angels are contending for the soul of a dying person.

Palmer, who was himself a printer, gives the first place to the "Ars moriendi," and the second to the "Apocalypse" [p. 53, 4]; and tells us that its "Paper has the mark of the heifer's head and horns, which is allowed to be the mark in the paper Faust used, whose first Essays were from 1440 to 1450."

We have, therefore, no reason to give any credit to those Dutch writers who would compliment their countryman Laurence Coster, of Haerlem, with the invention of every branch of the art of printing, and say that these books were printed so early as between 1428 and 1435; nor can it be allowed that Coster was either a painter or engraver. [See "Idée generale des Estampes," p. 333.]

M. Chrêtien Frederic Wenzel, Inspector of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings of the Electoral Gallery at Dresden, who has given us a large volume in octavo, 1771, under the title of "Idée generale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes," p. 334, &c. says, that he has found six different editions of the "Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque Visiones Apocalypticæ," which were all printed, on one side of the paper only, with such a tool as the makers of

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playing cards use; the first of them he mentions consists of 48 blocks, most of which, like yours, is divided into two parts. A complete copy of this edition is in the Imperial Library at Vienna; the ink very pale, and the figures illuminated, as are those of several other copies.

Dr. Askew's copy of this work was bought by Dr. Hunter. [Origin of Printing, by Bowyer and Nichols, 8vo. 1776. p. 175.]

Your print, Sir, belongs to the first edition; for, in the second, the stem of the tree in the upper part is strait, bearing three boughs; and, in the lower, there are five ropes fastened to the mast, instead of four, and the two trees are omitted.

The very early prints from wooden blocks, without the least shadowing or crossing of strokes, we may conjecture were first schemed by the illuminators of manuscripts and the makers of playing cards: these they inelegantly daubed over with colours, which they termed illuminating, and sold at a cheap rate to those who could not afford to purchase valuable missals elegantly written and painted on vellum: and this conjecture seems to be corroborated by their subjects being religious, and particularly by one of their books being called the "Poor's Bible."

Desirous of giving you joy on possessing the other 47 blocks,

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

1781, *April.* CHA. ROGERS.

LXXXIX. Stone in the Coronation Chair.

MR. URBAN, *Oct. 4.*

THE famous stone inclosed in King Edward's chair, in which the monarchs of England are seated at their coronations, seems to have continued undisturbed, through a succession of ages, in Westminster Abbey. In Mr. Widmore's valuable History of that Abbey, Lond. 1751, 4to. p. 80, is the following passage: "A. D. 1296, King Edward I. first brought from Scotland the regalia of that kingdom, and the stone fabulously reported to have been Jacob's pil-

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low; which he sent to this church, and where it is at this time under the coronation chair." Doubts, however, may arise, whether this be the identical stone "brought from Scotland;" if due attention be paid to the description of it in the subsequent passages extracted from Sir David Dalrymple's "Annals of Scotland from the accession of Malcolm III. to the accession of the House of Stuart; in two 4to. volumes; Edinburgh, 1776 and 1779.

"1296. As an evidence of his absolute conquest, he gave orders, that *the famous stone*, regarded as the national palladium, should be conveyed to Westminster."

"The stone is thus described by William Hemingford, T. I. p. 37. 'Apud monasterium de Scone positus erat Lapis pergrandis in ecclesia Dei, juxta magnum altare, concavus quidem *ad modum rotundæ cathedræ confectus*, in quo futuri Reges loco quasi coronationis ponebantur ex more. Rege itaque novo in Lapide posito, missarum solemnia incepta peraguntur; et, præterquam in elevatione sacri Dominici corporis, semper lapidatus mansit.' And again, T. I. p. 100. 'In redeundo per Scone, præcepit tolli et Londoniis cariari, Lapidem illum, in quo, ut supra dictum est, Reges Scotorum solebant poni loco coronationis suæ, *et hoc in signum regni conquesti et resignati.*' Walsingham mentions the use to which Edward put this stone: 'Ad West-monasterium transtulit illum, jubens inde fieri celebrantium *cathedram* sacerdotum.' I have transcribed this account of *the fatal stone*, that it may be compared with the appearance of the stone that now bears its name at Westminster." I. 242.

One of the articles of the treaty of peace with Scotland appears to have been this:—"1328. The stone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to sit at the time of their coronation shall be restored to the Scots." A writ has been discovered under the privy seal, July 1, 1328, by Edward III. to the Abbot and Monks of Westminster, reciting "that his council had, in his parliament held at Northampton, agreed that this stone should be sent to Scotland; and requiring the Abbot and Monks, in whose custody it was, to deliver it to the sheriffs of London, who were to cause it to be carried to the Queen Mother." II. 127.

One of the heads also of the conference between Edward III. of England and David II. of Scotland was this:—"1363. The King, after having been crowned King of England, to come regularly to the kingdom of Scotland, and to be crowned King at Scone, in the royal *chair*, which is to be delivered up by the English." II. 255.

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Having brought these evidences together relative to *the famous stone*, some of your antiquarian correspondents will probably favour you with their thoughts upon the subject, which at present requires elucidation in the opinion of

ANTIQUARIUS.

Mr. URBAN,

YOUR Correspondent Antiquarius perplexes himself without cause about the stone on which the kings of Scotland used to sit at their coronation. The original historians whom he cites call it a *stone* like a *round* chair; which last expression detracts not at all from the present form in which we see it in Westminster Abbey, a *roundish* stone, *under* St. Edward's *chair:* though it has led the learned modern Annalist to use the terms *stone* and *chair* controvertibly, without that precision which is so essential to an historian, and in which he so rarely fails.

Alexander was crowned King of Scotland, "super *cathedram* regalem, scil. *lapidem*." Fordun. p. 758, ed. Hearne; where indeed the Harl. MS. reads *lapideam*. William Paklington's Chron. in Lel. Coll. I. 460, says, "King Edward offered to St. Edward at Westminster the *chair*, sceptre, and crown of gold of the Scottish King." Carte II. 264, calls it "the *stone-chair*." Knighton (2481) "fecit cariari *lapidem* ad Londonias in quo Reges Scotiæ solent esse positi in sua coronacione." Math. West. p. 409, "Rex obtulit beato regi Edwardo regalia regis Scotiæ, *tribunal* videlicet, sceptrumque aureum cum corona." Hollinshed, vol. III. p. 213, Hist. of Scotland, "King Edward took the *chair of marble* with him, and did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this day." And in his History, Vol. II. p. 301, he says, "he took from Scone the marble *stone*, whereupon the Kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as a chair at the time of their coronation, which King Edward now caused to be transferred to Westminster, and there placed to serve for a chair *for the priest to sit in at the altar*." Stowe 207, and Fabian Pt. VII. p. 130.

It is remarkable, that Grafton, p. 177, calls the *regalys* of Scotland the crown with the sceptre and the *cloth of estate*, which King Edward offered at Saint Edward's shrine. Hect. Boetius, XIV. fol. 309*b*, calls it *cathedram lapideam*. Stowe says, as Grafton and Fabian, that he found the *regalies*; but adds, he offered the chair.

But Buchanan's account of it will completely solve the

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difficulty, and perhaps justify the giving it the double name of *stone* and *chair*. He tells us, that King Kennith, in the ninth century, transferred from Argyle to Scone the marble stone *(saxum marmoreum)* which had travelled hither from Ireland and Spain, and inclosed it in a wooden chair, "*in cathedram ligneam inclusum* ibi posuit," and VIII. 26. speaking of its removal by Edward, he calls it, "*lapidem marmoreum rudem*, in quo fatum regni contineri vulgo persuasum erat." In the order for restoring it in the reign of Edward III. it is "la piere sur quele les rois d'Escosse seuleient seer au temps de lur couroment."

Harding is still more explicit. He says of Edward:

> And as he came homeward by Skone away,
> The regall thereof of Scotland then he brought
> And sent it forth to Westminster for aye,
> *To be there in a cheire clenely wrought.*
> For a masse priest to sytte in when he ought;
> Which was there standying besyde the shryne
> In a cheire of old time made full fyne.

Yet this rhiming chronicler seems hardly sufficiently clear whether Edward made a chair for the stone and the priest, or whether the stone was in its original chair. The applying it to the use of a priest, was a degradation of it from its original use.

That this *stone* and *chair* continued in St. Edward's Chapel from the time of Edward I. to Elizabeth, is evident by Mr. Camden's account of them in his description of Westminster Abbey and its monuments. "*Quod* quidem solium *adhuc* in hac regia capella servatur cum *saxo Jacobi*, ut vocant, *imposito*." He adds the following inscription hung on a board by it, which being, with all such written memorials with which this abbey abounded, long since gone, and serving to ascertain the points in question, I have here transcribed;

> Si quid habent veri vel Chronica, cana fidesve,
> Clauditur hac cathedra nobilis ecce lapis,
> Ad caput eximius Jacob quondam patriarcha.
> Quem posuit cernens numina mira poli;
> Quem tulit ex Scotis spolians quasi victor honoris,
> Edvardus primus, Mars velut armipotens,
> Scotorum domitor, noster validissimus Hector,
> Anglorum decus et gloria militiæ.

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Robert of Gloucester only mentions the *white marble stone*, and that Edward "Besyde the shryne of Seynt Edward at Westminstre let hitte sette."

Drayton in Polyolb. Song XVII. says,

The seat on which her kings inaugurated were.

On which Selden comments from Boetius as before. (Weever Fun. Mon. 458, 9.) Speed Chron. p. 558, calls it the *marble chair*.

Camden. Brit. in Scotl. calls it *taxum lignea cathedra inclusum*.

If these hasty observations do not satisfy your correspondent's doubts, I trust he will be candid enough to tell us so.

1781, *Oct.*
1782, *Jan.* AN ENGLISH ANTIQUARY.

XC. Ailes in Cornish Churches.

MR. URBAN, *June*, 1781.

IN almost all the Cornish churches (at least those I have seen) there is a singularity which I have not observed in churches elsewhere. There is a north aile, which is sometimes fitted up with seats, but mostly is a place only for rubbish; and it is never used as a vestry, very few churches in this county having such a room; and where they have, the vestry is in a different place from this north aile. I cannot conceive for what purpose this half-transept (if I may give it such a name) was added to the church when the building was erected, as it is now seldom used for seats for any part of the congregation. If any of your antiquarian correspondents would favour your Cornish readers with their opinion upon the subject, and also inform them whether it is peculiar to the churches in this county, they would oblige more than one of

Your constant readers and admirers.

P. S. I might add at the same time another circumstance, which seems to me peculiar to the churches of Cornwall.

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There is in most parishes of this county a field (generally near the church-yard,) which is commonly called the *sentry** (perhaps *sanctuary*); but this field is not always glebe land, or at least has been filched from the church in some instances. How came this name to be given to one field only in a parish? and why is not this field *always* glebe land?

S. N.

Mr. URBAN,

ACCEPT a few conjectures relative to the ancient use of *North Ailes*, observed by your correspondent in almost all the Cornish churches, and not elsewhere, and to a field generally near the church-yard, and commonly called the *sentry*.

The ailes, or a part of them at least, I conceive to have been chantry-chapels, and to have in Cornwall the singularity of being always placed on the north side of the churches; for in other counties the situations of them are not so limited. They are often found contiguous to, and communicating with, the chancel on either side; near the middle of a few churches they form a north or a south transept; and in some, both: you sometimes see them, though rarely, at the west end of the church; but they are frequently to be met with at the east ends of the north and south ailes in such churches as have these additional buildings. And in several churches they are fitted up for vestries.

Persons of substance who resided in the parish usually founded these chantries, and they were commonly endowed with houses and lands for the maintenance of one or more priests, who were to sing masses at the altar of some favourite saint, for the souls of the founder, and of any other persons he had mentioned. They were also burial-places for the founders and their families; and from their having been built, and repaired by the owners of any estate and mansion, the heirs and successors acquired an exclusive right to them. After the Reformation, if the chapels were conveniently situated for the hearing of divine service, the

* Probably *cemetry* (or burying-ground), as the old *Cemetry-gate* at Canterbury is called by corruption *Centry-gate*. See Gostling's Walk, p. 119, 2d. edit. EDIT.

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proprietors of them, if protestants, erected seats in them for the use of themselves and their domestics, and of course were careful to keep them in a decent condition. But when the families were extinct, and the mansions decayed, or when the owners of them lived in other places, the chapels were gradually neglected, and at last became derelict. If wanted by any of the inhabitants, the parish took possession of them, and in this case the same attention was shewn to them as to the other parts of the fabric; otherwise, they were only places for rubbish, as the north ailes of the churches in Cornwall are represented to be. While they needed only a slight repair, the churchwardens might perhaps direct it to be done; but no sooner did it appear that the upholding of them would bring a heavy expence upon the parish, than they were suffered to fall to ruin, and in order to prevent all further charges, by building a party-wall, they were, strictly speaking, cast out of the church. In many churches are plainly to be discovered the arches, now filled up, through which were the entrances into these chantry chapels.

In the first year of King Edward VI. all chantries were dissolved by act of parliament, and the houses and lands with which they were endowed were vested in the crown, where, however, they did not long continue, being granted to the dependents on the court. Having never been a part of the revenues of the incumbents of the respective parishes they could not be considered as glebe lands. The *sentry* fields, concerning which your correspondent makes an inquiry in the postcript to his letter, were most probably appropriated for the support of the chantry priests who officiated in the ailes, or chapels, noticed by him. But I differ from him in supposing that *sanctuary* was the original appellation of them: nor do I agree with the learned editor of your useful Miscellany, who has surmised it to signify a *cemetry*, or *burying ground*. To me it seems to be a corruption of the word *chantry*, and I rather incline to this notion, because I have heard of some houses and lands that are so denominated. At West Peckham in Kent, in particular, on the north side of the church, about fifty years ago, the foundation-walls of a chantry were traced, which had belonged to a preceptory of the knights templars: and not far from the church-yard is a tenement with some fields that still retain the name of the chantry house and lands.

Yours, &c,

1781, *July.*
1782, *April.*

W. & D.

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XCI. Monastic Registers of Edmundsbury Monastery.

1. *Translations of three authentic Registers of the Monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, formerly kept by the sacrist.*

"THIS indenture certifies, that Master John Swassham, sacrist of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the consent and permission of the prior and convent of the same, hath demised and to farm let to Simeon Lolepeke, of Bury aforesaid, yeoman, the manor called Habyrdon in Bury aforesaid, &c. to have and to hold for the term of seven years, &c. paying yearly, &c. And the said Simeon, his executors and assigns, shall find or cause to be found *one white bull* every year of his term as often as it shall happen that any gentlewoman *(mulierem generosam)* or any other women, from devotion or vows by them made, shall visit the tomb of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the said white bull, &c. In witness whereof, to one part the seal of the sacrist is affixed, &c. Dated the 4th day of June, in the second year of the reign of King Henry, King of England, the seventh since the conquest."

2. *Another Register of the said Monastery.*

"This indenture, made the 12th day of September, in the 11th year of the reign of King Henry VIII. between master John Eye, sacrist of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, and Richard Skinner, of Bury aforesaid, husbandman, certifies that the aforesaid John Eye, with the consent, &c. hath demised and to farm let to the aforesaid Richard the manor of Habyrdon, &c. for the term of ten years, &c. and the said Richard shall find *one white bull* as often as it shall happen," &c. *as before.*

3. *Another original instrument, with the capitular seal of the Monastery annexed.*

"This indenture certifies that we John, by divine permission, abbot of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the consent and permission of the prior and convent of the same, have demised and to farm let to Robert Wright, glazier, and to John Anable, pewterer, of Bury aforesaid, our manor of Habyrdon, with the appurtenances pertaining to the office of sacrist of our said monastery, &c. to hold from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the term of twenty years, &c. paying yearly to the said abbot and his successors, for

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the use of the office of sacrist, 20l. 4s. &c. And the said Robert and John shall find *one white bull* every year of the aforesaid term, as often as it shall happen that any gentlewoman, or any other women, from devotion or vows by them made, shall visit the shrine of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the said white bull, &c. In witness whereof, to one part of this indenture remaining with the abovenamed abbot, prior, and convent, the said Robert and John have affixed their seals, and to the other part remaining with the said Robert and John, we the above named abbot, prior, and convent, have caused the common seal of our chapter to be affixed. Given in our chapter-house the xxviiith day of April, in the xxvth year of King Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord 1533."

The waxen impression, still perfect, has on the face St. Edmund, sitting on a royal throne, with a bishop standing on each side; on the reverse he is bound to a tree, and transfixed with arrows. Below, in another compartment, is the body of St. Edmund, headless; and near it a wolf, bringing back the royal head to restore it to the body. The instrument is thus indorsed, *Irrotulatur per me, Walterum Mildemey.* A transcript of this sealed indenture remains in the court of augmentations.

Whenever a married woman wished to be pregnant, this white bull, who enjoyed full ease and plenty in the fields of Haberdon, never meanly yoked to the plough, nor ever cruelly baited at the stake, was led in procession through the principal streets of the town, viz. Church-street, Guildhall-street, and Cook-row, of which the last led to the principal gate of the monastery, attended by all the monks singing, and a shouting crowd, the woman walking by him, and stroking his milk-white side and pendent dewlaps. The bull then being dismissed, the woman entered the church, and paid her vows at the altar of St. Edmund, kissing the stone, and intreating with tears the blessing of a child. This reminds one of the Luperci among the Romans, who ran naked about the streets, and with thongs of goatskins struck women with child in order to give easy labour. Virg. Æn. VIII. 663.

The above are extracted from the Corolla Varia of the Rev. William Hawkins*, M. A. schoolmaster, of Hadleigh in Suffolk, an entertaining and classical but now scarce pub-

* He styles himself *Nus*. See Ovid. Met. 1. 8.

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lication, printed at Cambridge in 1634*. It consists of 1. "Eclogæ tres Virgilianæ declinatæ; Tityrus, ad Pestifugium; Pollio, ad Postliminium; Gallus, ad Fastidium. 2. Corydon. Aufuga sive προξενοδοχια Pastorilia Accipiendo Reverendo Patri ac domino Joanni Episcopo Roffensi per binos Scholæ Hadleianæ Alumnos recitato. Apr. 9. 1632. 3. Nisus verberans et vapulans decantatus per Musas vergiferas, juridicas."

The occasion of the latter was briefly this: the three sons of a Mr. Colman, of Payton-Hall, *(Carbonius et Carbunculi)* being admitted at Hadleigh school, one of them in less than two years, unprovoked, and unthreatened, ran away; but a few months after, in the absence of the master and scholars, thought proper to enter the school-room and filthily bedaub a wooden horse, used for the purpose of flagellation; seen, however, by one of the boys, and boasting of it afterwards to others. A week after, accompanied by a relation, he returned to repeat his prank, but was then detected by his master, who very properly chastised him, but gently, giving him only four lashes. For this assault (as it was termed) an action was brought against him by the father, at Bury assizes, and the damages were laid at 40l. This action Mr. Hawkins was obliged to defend, at great trouble and expence, and at last, before issue was joined, the plaintiff withdrew his plea. All the circumstances of this case, the law process, &c. are described with great elegance and humour; and several commendatory poems are prefixed.

1783, *Nov.*

XCII. The Cell called Little Ease.

MR. URBAN,

THE account given in your Magazine for November last,† of the closet called "Little Ease" in the church of St.

* It appears by the register of Hadleigh, that "Mr. William Hawkins, curate, was buried June 29, 1637."

† "From the level of the South Wall of St. Mary's Church, Leicester, near its centre, and coeval with it, is a closet formed partly by a protuberance, with loop holes, or oblong apertures in front, looking into the church-yard; backed, a few years ago, by a door, which I well remember, opening into the church; called by tradition "Little-case," supposed to have been a place of discipline, where scarcely above one at a time could be admitted; and that only in an erect posture."

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Mary in Leicester, brought to my mind a description I had formerly read in Anglia Sacra, Vol. II. p. 96, of the cell of St. Dunstan, adjoining to St. Mary's Church in Glastonbury; and, on revising the passage, I find, in some instances, a very striking similitude between the two buildings. Osbern, in his Life of Dunstan, styles it "cellam, sive destinam, sive spelæum;" and Mr. Wharton, in a note, informs us, that "destina" means a small outward edifice contiguous to the wall of a greater, and that the word occurs in Bede's Eccles. Hist. I. 3. c. 17. and other writers. According to the Monkish historian, the cell was fabricated by Dunstan himself, and had rather the form of a sepulchre of the dead, than of an habitation for the living. He represents it to have been not more than five feet in length, and two and a half in breadth, and its height answerable to the stature of a man, provided he stood in the hole dug at the bottom of it, for that otherwise it would not be higher than a man's breast. The door seems to have opened into the church, as your correspondent remembers that of the closet at Leicester to have done; but there was this difference between the two edifices, that in the latter are loop-holes looking into the church-yard, whereas all the light the former received was through a window in the middle of the door. In this strait apartment Dunstan is said to have slept, as well as performed his devotions. Here also, whilst he was at work, his harp would play of itself for his amusement; and it was through the aperture of the door of this cell he was so lucky as to fasten his red-hot pincers upon Satan's nose. But to wave the ridiculous parts of this legendary tale, it is plain from Osberne's relation, that small structures of this kind were erected very early in this country; and though Dunstan, and some other monks as rigid as himself, might, by way of mortification, dwell in these places of "Little Ease," yet (as the traditional notion with respect to that at Leicester imports) it is very probable they might be intended and applied as prisons, for the security or punishment of persons suspected or convicted of heinous offences.

Yours, &c.

1784, *Jan.* W. and D.

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XCIII. Emaciated Figures in Churches.

MR. URBAN, *Jan.* 19.

YOUR correspondent B. R. mentions a circumstance that has struck me as it seems to have done him. "In many of our cathedrals" is exhibited, on a monument, a whole length recumbent figure of a man, naked, and very much emaciated: and this, the observer is told, is "the figure of a certain bishop, who attempted to fast forty days and forty nights, and perished in the experiment." The repetition of this story, in different places, awakened my attention to it, and, upon recollection, I very much doubt whether such a figure ever appears, without having, on a more exalted part of the monument, another recumbent figure of a bishop, in his pontificalibus. Now, if this be the case, I should incline to explain it thus. In days of yore I apprehend that, after the death of kings, prelates, and other considerable persons, their bodies were dressed in their official robes, and thus laid in their coffins; that the last mentioned figures are exact effigies of them in this state, and the first mentioned figures equally exact representations of their bodies before they were thus habited; for surely it cannot be deemed extraordinary, that the bodies of such persons, especially as the greater part of them were far advanced in years, should appear meagre and emaciated after death; and this will be an answer to the question, what was designed by these last mentioned figures, if they are to be found any where, unaccompanied with the effigies in robes? I profess not, by any means, to speak in an authoritative style, but merely to throw out hints, which may engage the attention of some of your readers who are much better qualified to speak to the subject.

Yours, &c.

E.

MR. URBAN, *Burbach, April* 23.

MANY observations having been lately made in your Magazine by different correspondents in relation to the emaciated figures, so frequently found in our cathedrals connected with the monuments of bishops, abbots, &c. for I am clear it was not confined to these only; having seen the same device under the figure of a lusty well-fed knight; I shall be much pleased if my brother antiquaries will admit the following reasons as conclusive on this subject. During my travels on the continent, a predilection for mat-

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ters of antiquity made me seldom pass by any cathedral or old abbey without an interior visit. In several of both these denominations, I repeatedly found the same figure attached to some capital monument, with this difference, that the conductor or monk himself, appointed to shew the premises, never annexed the improbable story of fasting*, &c. I remember seeing one of this kind in the church belonging to the priory of Celestin monks at Heverle, near the town of Louvain in Brabant. I was particularly directed to this figure as an object worthy of my curiosity; it is placed over a monument of a Duke de Croy, and represents a cadaver in the same state nearly as in our English cathedrals, with this horible yet admirable singularity, that the worms are seen in various parts destroying the body; it is of the finest white marble, and executed in the most masterly manner, yet being so natural and such a melancholy object few people give it that attention it deserves. From hence I would infer, that, whatever might give rise to the same story told in most of our cathedral or monastic churches, it cannot be applicable to all, but seems to have been the taste of the sculptors of that age, and no improper picture of death and the corruptibility of the body, at the same time conveying an useful though humiliating lesson to persons of high dignity. I sincerely wish that all fabulous traditions may be exploded; and for that reason I felt a secret satisfaction on visiting once more, at my last journey to London, the tombs in Westminster abbey, that the verger no longer amuses the gaping vulgar with the idle story of the lady who died by the prick of a needle in her finger, when it is evident to the most common judgment, that the figure is pointing to a death's head below.

– *Observator.*

1784, *Jan. May.*

XCIV. Ancient Customs elucidated.

§1 *The Feast of Yule.—Mothering Sunday.*

Mr. URBAN, *Jan. 7.*

AS a correspondent of yours is desirous, amongst other

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* In Canterbury cathedral there is a like emaciated figure under the fine monument of Abp. Chichley, of whom no such story is recorded.

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customs, of knowing the original of regaling on furmety on what he calls "Mothering Sunday," I have here sent you what has occurred to me towards tracing it out. As to "Mothering Sunday," of which another correspondent confesses his ignorance, and which indeed I never heard of before, I suppose it may be some Sunday near Christmas, and has reference to the winter solstice, the night of which was called by our ancestors *Mother-night*, as they reckoned the beginning of their years from thence. But be this as it will, I know it is a custom in the northern counties to have furmety, or frumity, as the common people there call it, on Christmas-eve; however the word be pronounced, it is probably derived from *frumentum*, wheat*. It is made of what is called in a certain town in Yorkshire "kreed wheat," or whole grains first boiled plump and soft, and then put into and boiled in milk sweetened and spiced. One of the principal feasts among the northern nations was the *Juul*, afterwards called *Yule*, about the shortest day†; which, as Mr. Mallet observes, bore a great resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia, feasts instituted in memory of Noah, who, as Mr. Bryant has shewn, was the real Saturn, and, from the light he has thrown on this subject, the *Juul* might have a greater affinity with them than Mr. Mallet was aware. In almost all the ancient nations anniversary seasons were observed in commemoration of something or other relating to Noah or the deluge: but in process of time the originals were forgotten by many of them, and they were diverted to other purposes, which has occasioned some perplexity. In September the Egyptians, Canaanites, and others, made bitter lamentations for the dead Osiris, Jammuz, Adonis, Serapis, or Apis, on the bier, by all which names Noah was denoted; and this was in commemoration of his being at that time shut up in the ark. They also observed a festivity in commemoration of his coming out again, when they ran about in a wild disorderly manner, making great exclamations with other demonstrations of frantic mirth. Besides which there seems to me to have been another celebrated, as the Romans did their Saturnalia, in December, when all were considered on a level, like master, like man; and this was to express the social manner in which Noah lived about this time with his family in the ark, when the great storms

* On this head let the curious reader consult "The Furmetary," a delectable poem of the facetious Dr. King. SCRIBLERUS.

† Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 130.

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and tempests had ceased, and all the oppressors and disturbers of mankind were destroyed. Of this kind, I take it, was the feast *Juul*; and as Noah was not only adored as the god of the deluge, but also recognised as a great benefactor to mankind by teaching or improving them in the art of husbandry, what could be more suitable than for them to regale themselves on it with a pallatable dish for those times, the principal ingredient of which is wheat? Those times were held peculiarly sacred by the idolisers of Noah, which were adapted to express the perishing of the old world and the revival of the new, as that of the new moons; and, as then one ended and another began, they called it the old and new day: and the winter solstice might seem to the northern nations more fully to answer this purpose, as on it they ended the old and began the new year. That this rejoicing on Christmas-eve had its rise from the *Juul*, and was exchanged for it, is evident from a custom practised in the northern counties of putting a large clog of wood on the fire this evening, which is still called the Yule clog: the original occasion of it may have been, as the *Juul* was their greatest festival, to honour it with the best fire. About this, in the rude and simple ages after the change, the whole household, which was quite agreeable to the nature of the old feast, used to sit, stand or play in a sportive manner, according to the proverb of those times,

All friends round the wrekin.

Now what gave occasion to this exchange was this: in the degenerate ages it was the usual method to convert these barbarians by adapting the Christian religion, as much as possible, to their ancient usages and customs; and one most prevailing way they took for doing it was, by promising them they should be indulged with the same or like feasts in it as what they enjoyed before in Paganism. Hence for the *Juul* they gave them to understand they should enjoy the feast of Christmas, and indulge them with this part of their feast on its eve, which they might think innocent, and would not break in much upon this festival, and agreed with their ancient manner of beginning theirs. However, from that strong attachment the multitude always have for their ancient customs, many of them for some time afterwards called it Christmas *Yule*; and this seems to have prevailed the longest in the northern counties. In the same manner as the feast of our Lord's Resurrection was substituted for another festival they held in the spring or Easter month, as April was then called, from the easterly winds which prevail at this time, it is called Easter among us to

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this day. But, by the bye, I think it high time this old denomination was laid aside, and the true one restored. It would be much the best to have all our Christian festivals called by their most true, simple, and expressive names, that people of all ranks might hence be more strongly reminded of what great, glorious, and interesting events they are intended to recall into their minds, and so be excited to think more seriously about them, and take comfort from them. We have another instance of this impropriety in Acts xii. 4, where our translators have put Easter for the Passover. J. M.

SCRUTATOR observes, that "Mothering Sunday" is explained in Bailey's Dictionary, 8vo. where it is said, that "Mothering is a custom still retained in many places of England, of visiting parents on Midlent Sunday; and it seems to be called *Mothering* from the respect in old time paid to the *Mother* church, it being the custom for people in popish times to visit their Mother church on Midlent Sunday, and to make their offerings at the high altar."

A Nottinghamshire correspondent tells us, that, when he was a school-boy, the practice on Christmas-eve was to roast apples on a string till they dropt into a large bowl of spiced ale, which is the whole composition of "Lamb's Wool;" and that, whilst he was an apprentice, the custom was to visit his mother on Midlent Sunday (thence called Mothering Sunday,) for a regale of excellent furmety.

N.

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§ 2 *Lamb's Wool.—Wassail Bowl.*

Mr. URBAN, *Rotherham, Dec.* 17.

YOUR anonymous correspondent, having said that he never heard of *Lamb's Wool* on Christmas-eve, and cannot guess the meaning, I am induced to trouble you with the following attempt at an explanation of what was meant by the expression.

In that part of Yorkshire [near Leedes] where I was born, and spent my youth, I remember, when I was a boy, that it was customary for many families, on the twelfth eve of Christmas, (not on Christmas-eve,) to invite their relations, friends, and neighbours to their houses, to play at cards, and to partake of a supper, of which minced pies were an indispensable ingredient; and after supper was brought in the *Wassail Cup*, or *Wassail Bowl*, being a large bowl, such as is now used for punch, filled with sweetened ale and

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roasted apples.—I have seen bowls used for this purpose that held above a gallon.—A plate of spiced cake was first handed about to the company, and then the *Wassail Bowl*, of which every one partook, by taking with a spoon, out of the ale, a roasted apple, and eating it, and then drinking the healths of the company out of the bowl, wishing them a merry Christmas* and a happy new year: the ingredients put into the bowl, viz. ale, sugar, nutmeg, and roasted apples, were usually called *Lamb's Wool*, and the night on which it used to be drunk (which was generally on the twelfth-eve) was commonly called *Wassail-eve*.

I am of opinion that the custom was very ancient; but from whence it arose, or why the mixture was called *Lamb's Wool*, I do not at present pretend to account.

Shakespeare certainly alludes to it in his "Midsummer Night's Dream," where he makes Puck, or Robin Goodfellow, say

> ———"Sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl
> In very likeness of a roasted crab†,
> And when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
> And on her wither'd dewlap pour the ale"—

a very common accident, especially to old people, who, oftentimes had as much *Lamb's Wool* in the bowl as they could lift to their heads, and sometimes more than they could do so without assistance.

Since the alteration of the style, the *Wassail Bowl*, or *Wassail Cup*, as it was more commonly called, is so much gone into disuse in this part of the country, that I have scarcely seen it introduced into company these thirty years. —Indeed the festival of Christmas is not celebrated since that period as it used to be in my remembrance.

We have in this place a very ancient custom yet kept up, viz. the *Curfeu bells*, called here *Culfer, i. e. Cool fire*, which are two of the church bells rung alternately, every morning and evening, at seven o'clock, during the twelve days of Christmas only, and at no other time of the year.—They make a most disagreeable sound.

Yours, &c.

JOSIAH BECKWITH.

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* The festival of Christmas used, in this part of the country, to hold for twenty days, and some persons extended it to Candlemas.

† Crab-apple.

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P. S. Furmety used, in my remembrance, to be always the breakfast and supper on Christmas-eve in this country.

1784, *Feb.*

XCV. Solemnities of Corpus Christi Day illustrated.

Mr. URBAN,

WE find the solemnities of Corpus Christi day (generally thought to be peculiar to Coventry, and as such recorded in Dugdale's Warwickshire, and Pennant's Journey from Chester) were performed at Dublin with great preparation of pageants. The glovers were to represent Adam and Eve, an angel bearing a sword before them; the *corrisees* (perhaps *curriers*,) Cain and Abel, with an altar, and their offering; the mariners and vintners, Noah and the persons in the ark, apparelled in the habits of carpenters and salmon-takers; the weavers personated Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar; the smiths, Pharaoh with his host; the skinners, the camel with the children of Israel; the goldsmiths were to find the King of Cullen (Cologne;) the hoopers, the shepherds, with an angel singing Gloria, &c. Corpus Christi gild, Christ in his passion, with the Maries and angels; the taylors, Pilate with his fellowship, and his wife cloathed accordingly; the barbers, Anna and Caiaphas; the fishers, the apostles; the merchants, the prophets; and the butchers, the tormenters.. Tho. Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, lord lieut. was invited, Christmas 1528, to a new play every day, wherein the taylors acted Adam and Eve; the shoemakers, Crispin and Crispianus; the vintners, Bacchus, and his story; the carpenters, the story of Joseph and Mary; the smiths, that of Vulcan; and the bakers, that of Ceres. The priors of St. John of Jerusalem, Trinity, and All Saints, caused to be represented on the same stage two plays, Christ's Passion and the Death of the Apostles. The play of The Nine Worthies was also acted on Corpus Christi day 1541. Harris's Hist. of Dublin, pp. 143. 145. 147. MS. Harl. 2013 and 2124, is a list of pageants or plays to be presented (1600) by the companies at Chester. The tanners are to represent the creation of heaven, angels, and devils; the drapers, that of the world; the water leaders and drawers of Dee, the flood (Noah's wife swears by Christ and St. John;) the barbers and wax-chandlers, Abraham's return from the slaughter of the five kings; the cappers and linen-drapers, the giving of the law; the

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wrights, the salutation and nativity; the painters, the shepherds; the vintners, the three kings; the mercers, their offering; the goldsmiths, the slaughter of the innocents; the blacksmiths, the purification; the butchers, the temptation; the glovers, the curing the blind man, and raising of Lazarus; the corvisors, Christ in the house of Simon the leper; the bakers, the Lord's supper, and the betraying of Christ; the fletchers, bowyers, coopers, and stringers, the passion; the ironmongers, the crucifixion; the skinners, the resurrection; the saddlers, the journey to Emmaus, and the appearing to the other disciples; the taylors, the ascension; the fishmongers, the chusing of Matthias, and descent of the Holy Ghost; the clothworkers, Ezekiel's vision of the bones; the diers, the coming of Anti-christ; the websters, the last Judgment. In the first of these MSS. is a proclamation for Whitsun plays, made by William Nowall, clerk of the pendice, 24 Henry VIII. setting forth, that in "ould tyme not only for the augmentacyon and increes of the holy and catholick faith, and to exort the minds of common people to good devotion and wholsome doctrine, but also for the commonwealthe and prosperity of this citty [Chester,] a play and declaracyon of divers stories of the Bible, beginning with the creation and fall of Lucifer, and ending with the generall judgment of the world, to be declared and played openly in pageants in the Whitsonne weeke, was devised and made by Sir Hen. Frances, somtyme mooncke there; who gat of Clement, then bushop of Rome, 1000 days of pardon, and of the bushop of Chester at that tyme 40 days of pardon, to every person resorting in peaceable manner to see and heare the said plays; which were, to the honor of God, by John Arnway, then mayor of Chester, his brethren, and the whole cominalty thereof, to be brought forth, declared, and played at the coste and charges of the craftsmen and occupacyons of the said city, &c." All who disturbed them were to be accursed of the pope till he absolved them. Arnway was mayor 1327 and 1328, at which time these plays were written by R. Higgenett [probably Ranulph Higden] monk of Chester abbey, who was thrice at Rome before he could obtain the pope's leave to have them in English. In Thoresby's MS. of Corpus Christi play, by Tho. Cutler and Rich. Nandyke, now in Mr. Walpole's possession, the trades mentioned are, wefferes [weavers;] cappers [hatters added in a modern hand;] estrereners, gyrdillers, tylle-thakkers [tilers, thatchers with tyles;] spicers, shavers, parchmynners, shermen, and wyne-drawers; merceres,

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[added as modern,] Richard, father of Moreton, Bishop of Durham, being the first of that trade, at least in the North of England. Fuller's Worth. York. 229. Thoresby, Duc. p. 517.

A note of the particulars of the properties of the stage-play played at Lincoln in the month of July, a° 6 regine Elizabethe, in the time of the mayoralty of Richard Carter; which play was then played in Broadgate in the said city, and it was of the story of Old Tobit in the Old Testament.

Lying at Mr. Norton's house, in tenure of William Smart:

First, Hell mouth with a nether chap.
Item, A prison with a covering.
Item, Sarah's chambre.

Remaining in St. Swithin's church:

Item, A great idol, with a club.
Item, A tomb, with a covering.
Item, The cyty of Jerusalem, with towers and pinnacles.
Item, The cyty of Raiges, with towers and pinnacles.
Item, The cyty of Nineveh.
Item, The king's palace of Nineveh.
Item, Old Tobye's house.
Item, The Israelite's house, and the neighbour's house.
Item, The king's palace at Laches.
Item, A firmament, with a fiery cloud and a double cloud, in the custody of Tho. Fulbeck, alderman.

We see here the origin of our stage-plays, which were at first only those pageants which after-ages levelled to the decoration of a lord mayor's show.

1784, *Feb.* Q.

XCVI. Origin of the Offices of Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal.

Mr. URBAN, *Feb.* 26.

TITLES of honour, as well as those of office, frequently lie so far back in the memorials of antiquity, that it is sometimes difficult to discover the genuine meaning of their appellations; partly owing to the obsolete state of the language in which they are conveyed to us, and partly to a long series of investigation, to be pursued in a variety of authors, many of whom differ in their sentiments upon etymologies. Thus it often happens, that the village, which we want to arrive at, seems to the eye to be at a small

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distance: but many turnings and windings, many unfrequented paths, are very often to be passed, before we can reach it.

The two most ancient, and most puissant officers of this state, were the constable and marshal; originally two offices in one and the same person. There are many authorities which must be examined with attention, before we can command the true signification of these words. Say some, the word *constable* owes its origin to the ancient Teutonic *cunning*, king, and *stable*, firm; so that according to this idea, the constable was an officer, who gave strength, firmness, or stability, by his office, to the king. Verstegan, indeed, is of this opinion; but many other authors differ from him. But when we find, that this officer is styled *Constabularius*, the true construction must be, that such officer was the person, who took care to provide stabling, and other necessaries, for the king's horses. Thus in the register* 88, the marshal is said to be, *Constabularius exercitus nostri*, Fitzherbert Nat. Brev. 84. The word *marshal*, after much travel over etymological ground, seems to be derived from the Teutonic *Marc*, an horse, now a British word, and *Scalc*, in the same language, which signifies an overseer, guardian, or curator; and Verstegan, upon consulting his work, seems to coincide with this etymology. The first parliamentary acknowledgment of this officer is in an Act 13 Rich. II. where these words are the prefatory part of that statute: "Because the commons do make a grievous complaint, that the court of the constable and marshal hath incroached *to him*, &c." Now, these two last words are sufficient evidence, that at this juncture the office of constable and marshal was one undivided office, in one and the same person. In the 20th year of this king's reign, the office was severed; and by grant to Thomas Earl of Nottingham, who was by this grant the first Hereditary Earl Marshal, the constable and marshal became two distinct officers.—This grant is thus expressed:—"Rex, &c. Sciatis quod cum nos de nostra speciali gratia concesserimus dilecto consanguineo nostro Thomæ Comiti de Nottingham officium Mareschalli Angliæ, habendum ad totam vitam suam, Nos jam de ulteriori gratia nostra concessimus præfato Consanguineo nostro officium prædictum una cum nomine et honore *Comitis Mareschalli*, habendum sibi et hære-

* The register is one of the most ancient authorities in the common law; which contains a copious assemblage of all the original writs at that time in use. It is not quite clear, in what reign this compilation was formed. See Coke on Litt. 159.

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dibus suis masculis, &c." Rot. Cart. 20 Rich. II. Nu. 3. Anciently, before the Conquest, and since that period, to the time above mentioned, the office of constable and marshal passed by grants: when the severence was effected, the office of constable became an hereditary office in families, by a tenure of particular manors in grand serjeanty. See Lambard, Hoveden. The office of marshal always passed by grants, whether an united or a distinct office, whether a single honour, or united to that of constable, which grants may be traced up to 1 John. Rot. Cart. part 2. nu. 85. The grants of constable go no higher than 1 Henry V. Rot. Pat. part 1. *Henrico Comiti North pro vita sua.* So that after the grant made 20 Rich. II. of a separate hereditary marshal, the office of marshal became hereditary by grant, and that of constable by tenure.

It appears from records before the Conquest, that the marshals were called Heretoches, from the Saxon *here, exercitus,* and *teon, ducere:* so that they were leaders, superintendants, or directors of the royal army. "Mareschalli exercitus, seu ductores exercitus, Heretoches per Anglos vocabantur." Fitzherbert, Nat. Brev. 85. Thus speak the laws before the Conquest. The office of constable, which was by hereditary right of tenure in Edward Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Henry VIII. became extinct by his attainder, upon the forfeiture of it to the crown by such attainder; and ever since has been an appointment by the crown, only upon grand occasions, such as a coronation, &c. and it is usual at this day, to revive the office of Lord High Constable *pro hac vice,* upon the celebration of such solemnities. On the other hand, the office of earl marshal, which descended to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by hereditary grant, in the reign of Henry VIII. was surrendered by this duke into the hands of the king, in the 25th year of his reign; and was granted to the Duke of Norfolk, who was then vice-roy of Ireland; from whom it descended either lineally or collaterally to the present Norfolk family, who still continue in the possession and enjoyment of this honorable distinction.

The powers vested in these two great officers of state, appear from the words of the statute 14 Rich. II. "To the Constable and Marshal it appertaineth to have conusance of contracts, and deeds of arms, and of war out of the realm, and also of things that touch war within the realm, which cannot be discussed and determined by the common law."

Before these two officers, as judges, and other judges of

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the court, where the appeal was brought, was determined the ancient trial by *battle*: where *gladiatorial* ferocity passed for an inductive proof of innocence, and the very dregs of Gothic superstition assumed the sacred majesty of law; while the murder of one person was to be proved by the murder of another.

In these appeals of murder, upon the day appointed by the constable and marshal, the parties made their appearance armed with clubs or battoons, and before the conflict began each of them took the following *un*-solemn oath, "that they had neither eat or drank on that day, nor done any thing else, by which the law of God might be depressed, or the law of the Devil exalted." Then the combat began, which consisted of wounds and bruises, oftentimes occasioning immediate death, *secundum legem baculi.* It was singular, that this bloody conflict sometimes lasted the whole day. Now, how the combatants could maintain such a long and severe interchange of blows without intermission, for nothing of this kind is mentioned, is difficult to determine. If the appellee yielded before the close of the day, he was sentenced to be immediately hanged; but if he could support the blows of the assailant till that time, he was then quit of the appeal: on the contrary, if the appellant declined the contest, he was sentenced to outlawry, and to pay damages to the appellee. Glanvil. lib. 14. Bracton lib. 3. Smith De Repub. Angl. lib. 2. Britton c. 22.

In the book of entries, belonging to the abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, Suffolk, fol. 87, is a record or register of a writ directed to the sheriffs of London, in the 8th year of Henry VI. to provide lists and bars for a duel, that was to be fought between John Upton and John Down. The form runs thus: "Rex Vic. London, præcipimus vobis firmiter injungentes quod quasdam listas et barras de meremio* fortes pro quodam duello inter Johannem Upton et Johannem Down, secundum legem Armorum, die Lunæ prox' futur' apud Smithfield, in suburb' civitatis prædictæ, Deo dante, perficiend' contra diem prædict' nostris sumptibus et expensis erigi, construi, et fieri fac', et quod terra infra listas prædict' cum sabulo sufficiente co-operta, ita quod aliqui lapides grandes aut arena infra easdem listas minime inveniantur, et de omnibus et singulis pecuniarum summis quas circa præmissa applicaveritis nos vobis in computo

* The idiom of this word is of Gallic structure. The word in the original is merèsme, which signifies any sort of wood used for building. Claus. 16. Ed. II. m. 3.

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vestro ad Scaccarium nostrum per præsens mandatum nostrum debitam allocationem habere faciemus."

This is the only writ, now extant upon record, which throws light upon this subject; and is therefore a matter of curiosity to those, who wish to be informed what the legal usage was upon the appeals of murder, so frequent in former times.

The last joinder of issue, in a process of this kind, was between Lord Rey appellant, and David Ramsey appellee, both Scotchmen (Orig. Judicial. 65.) This combat was ordered to be tried before the Earl of Lindsey, high constable, and the Earl of Arundel, earl marshal, in the 6th year of Charles I. But the king rather shewing a dislike to the measure, a reference of the case was made to the lords, who at last submitted the matter to the king for his determination; who being of opinion, that Ramsey was unjustly accused, the matter was compromised, and at length finally adjusted, without the intervention of a jurisdiction, which from its cool and sedate attention to this legally bloody conflict, may be said to have set all the laws of humanity at defiance.

1784, *March*. RUBEN D'MOUNDT.

XCVII. The Word CERCELLA, in old Deeds, explained.

Mr. URBAN, *March* 3.

THE ingenious communicative author of the History of Reculver and Herne, in a note to a grant of three acres of land, (dated A. D. 1357,) a part of the covenanted rent of which was one quarter of barley *palmal'*, has suggested a doubt, whether the word *palmal'* may be rightly copied, but observes, "if it is, it cannot be in any sense applicable to barley, unless it means, large sized grain." The justness of this surmise is confirmed by Cowel, who, in his Law Dictionary, says that "*Palmarium Hordeum—Palm Barley*, is the Sprat Barley called in some parts Beer Barley, and in others Battled Barley, and that it is fuller and broader than common barley." A query is also proposed by Mr. Duncombe in another note, respecting a word in an account of the rents paid for divers tenements secured to the hospital at Herbaldowne, by a mortmayne grant from Henry VI. I will transcribe the passage I refer to—Itm de Wil^o Yoe, &c. quatuor solidates et sex denariatas ac *medi-*

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atem unius quadrantate, et redditum duarum *sarcellarum,* ac tercie partis unius *sarcellæ,* unius galline et dimid. et quindecim ovorum exeunt, de diversis tenementis in insula de Herteye." *Sarcellæ* is the term to which Mr. D. objects, because "the only sense of *sarcellus* and *sercellus* in the Glossaries is the *sign of an hoop* indicating that wine is sold at the hoop where it hangs out;" an interpretation certainly it will not bear here.—The word is, however, incorrectly copied, it ought to be *cercellæ,* not with an *s,* but a *c,* as it is spelt in the English instrument of Mortmayne, given a few lines above; and according to Somner* *cercella* is derived "from the French *cercelle,*" and signifies "the water wild fowl, denominated by us a Teale," of which birds there probably was always an abundance in Hertye island. Two teale, and the third part of another, was a whimsical kind of reddend', and if delivered in kind, with exactness, would require the hand of a dexterous carver. But this is not the only curious article in the rent of this estate, for there was to be paid in money four shillings and sixpence and half a farthing. As there never was, I have a notion, any such diminutive piece of coin [in England†] the splitting of a farthing may be inferred to have been literally a practice in the 16th century. Historians inform us that our ancestors were wont easily to divide silver pennies into halves and quarters, by means of the double cross stamped on the reverse, and to pay or distribute the fragments in lieu of halfpence and farthings. To prevent such clipping and defacing, it was ordered by King Henry III. that no coin should pass current which was not round; and his son absolutely prohibited the use of broken money. The following are some of the verses made upon this regulation of Edward I. They are printed in Spelman's Glossary, ad verb. Denarius, from Stow's Annals, p. 506.

"EDWARD did smite round, peny, half-peny, farthing,
The cross passes the bond of all throughout the ring.
The poor man, ne to Priest, the peny fraises nothing.
Men give God aye the least, they feast him with a farthing.

* Glossar. ad fin. X. Script. In a deed inserted in the Appendix to the Treatise on Gavelkind, by Somner, it is mentioned that the prior and the convent of Christ Church Canterbury were to have yearly, at Christmas, from one of their tenants, "Unum mathlardum, et unum *annatem,* et quatuor *cercellas,*" p. 123.

† "A French denier" says Chamberlain, "is equal to ½ of a farthing sterling." Edit.

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Without a violation of the law, the poor people in Herbaldown hospital must have been deprived of the regular payment of half the least part of the rent that was due to them.

1784, *March.* W. and D.

XCVIII. Cross Bows.

Mr. URBAN, *Litchfield, April* 19.

FROM your readiness to oblige your correspondents, I make not the least doubt but you will give the following account of the Cross-bow, a place in your useful Repository; especially when I inform you, it was transmitted to me by the very worthy and ingenious Mr. Grose, who, I hope, will not be offended at seeing it in print; as I think it is too valuable to be with-held from the public.

RICH. GREENE.

"With respect to the Cross-bow, it is a very ancient weapon. Verstegan says, it was introduced here by the Saxons, but was neglected till again brought into use by William the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings. Cross-bows were afterwards prohibited by the second Lateran Council, anno 1139, as hateful to God, and unfit to be used among Christians; in consequence whereof they were laid aside till the reign of Richard the First, who again introduced them, and was himself killed by an arrow or quarrel, discharged from a cross-bow at the siege of the Castle of Chalus, which was considered as a judgment on his impiety.

"Cross-bows shot darts called quarrels or quarreaux; they were headed with solid square pyramids of iron, and sometimes trimmed with brass instead of feathers*.

"Cross-bows were used by the English, in their expedition to the Isle of Rhee, anno 1627.

"There was an officer stiled Balistrarius Regis; and several estates were held by the service of delivering a cross-bow, and thread to make the string, when the king passed through certain districts. These you will find in Blount's Tenures, and Jacob's Law Dictionary.

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* The arrow-heads which have been found in Bosworth field are remarkably large and long. EDIT.

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"The cross-bow makers used to exercise themselves in shooting at the popinjay, or artificial parrot, in a field called Tassal Close in London, from the number of thistles growing there, now called the Old Artillery Ground. Mitland's History.

"According to Sir John Smith, a cross-bow would kill point blank 60 yards, and if elevated above 160.

"The pay of a cross-bow man, temp. Edward II. was six-pence.

"King Henry VIII. to preserve the manly exercise of archery, instituted a company of archers, called the Fraternity of St. George, who were authorised to shoot with long and cross-bows at all manner of marks, and in case any one was slain by arrows shot by these archers, if it was proved the party who shot the arrow had first given the word *Fast*, he was not liable to be sued or molested. Chamberlain's History of London.

"So much for the cross-bow, of which you will find many particulars in our ancient Chronicles, particularly Froissart."

1784, *April.*

XCIX. Particulars respecting the first Coffee House in England.

Mr. URBAN,

I HERE send you some historic matter respecting the use of coffee, tea, and chocolate in this kingdom. Little could our ancestors of two centuries back suppose that their descendants would be reduced to the necessity of sending to the East and Western Indies for the materials for a comfortable breakfast. There is a gradation in customs, which often originate from individuals. Tradition ascribes the smoaking of tobacco to Sir Walter Raleigh. It is observed by Ant. a Wood (Ath. Oxon. II. 1140,) that while Nathaniel Conopius, a Cretan born, continued in Balliol College in Oxford, which he left in 1648, he made the drink for his own use called coffee, and usually drank it every morning, being the first, as the ancients of that house informed him, that was ever drunk in Oxon. In the year 1650, we learn from the same author (Life. 8vo. v. Index,) "Jacob a Jew opened a coffey-house at the Angel in the parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon, and there it was by some, who delighted in noveltie, drank. In 1654, Cirques Jobson, a Jew and

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Jacobite, borne near Mount-Libanus, sold coffey in Oxon; and in 1655, Arth. Tillyard, apothecary, sold coffey publicly in his house against All Soules Coll. This coffey-house continued till his majesties returne and after, and then they became more frequent, and had an excise set upon coffey." The author of the "New View of London" (1708, p. 30.) found it recorded, "that one James Farr, a barber, who kept the coffee-house which is now the Rainbow, by the Inner Temple Gate (one of the first in England,) was in the year 1657 presented by the inquest of St. Dunstan's in the West, for making and selling a sort of liquor called coffee, as a great nuisance and prejudice of the neighbourhood, &c. And who could then have thought London would ever have had near 3000 such nuisances, and that coffee would have been (as now, 1708) so much drunk by the best of quality and physicians?" The frequency of coffee-houses at and soon after the Restoration is apparent from several authorities. In the "Kingdom's Intelligencer," a weekly paper, published by authority, in 1662, are inserted four advertisements of these articles, of which I have selected the last as being the fullest; which is the paper from Monday Dec. 22, to Dec. 29, 1662.

"At the coffee-house in Exchange-alley is sold by retail the right coffee-powder from 4 to 6s. 8d. per pound, as in goodness; that pounded in a morter at 2s. 6d. per pound; also that termed the East India berry at 18d. per pound; and that termed the right Turkie berry well garbled at 3s. per pound, the ungarbled for lesse, with directions gratis how to make and use the same: likewise there you may have chocolatta, the ordinary pound boxes at 2s. 6d. per pound, the perfumed from 4 to 10s per pound; also sherbets made in Turkie of lemons, roses, and violets perfumed; and tea according to its goodness. For all which if any gentlemen shall write or send, they shall be sure of the best, as they shall order, and to avoid deceit, warranted under the house seal, viz. Morat the Great, &c. Further, all gentlemen that are customers and acquaintance are (the next New-year's day) invited at the signe of the Great Turk at the new coffee-house in Exchange-alley, where coffee will be on free-cost." *And so may be to the world's end,* was added in the preceding of Dec. 20. In the two former of Aug. 4, and Oct. 13, the terms are "tea or chaa, according to its goodness;" unluckily no price is any where mentioned to this article; in the others it considerably varies. Coffee in the first advertisement was from 2s. 6d. to 5s. In the second the same, a better sort at 4s. and the best of all at 6s.

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per pound. The right Turky berry at 2s. 8d. The India berry, sweet and good, at 18d. per pound, of which at present in divers places there is musty, bad, which the ignorant for cheapness do buy, and is the cause of such bad coffee as is drunk in divers places. Chocolatta in the first pound boxes at 2s. the perfumed at 4s. 6s. 10s. 16s. and the very best at 20s. per pound. In the second, the perfumed at 4s. to 10s. per pound. In the last, coffee rose 8d. higher than in the preceding week.

In the year 1665 appeared in 4to. a facetious poem, with the title of "The Character of a Coffee-house: Wherein is contained a description of the persons usually frequenting it, with their discourse and humours: as also the admirable vertues of coffee. By an Eye and Ear-witness." It begins:

A Coffee-house, the learned hold
It is a place where Coffee's sold;
This derivation cannot fail us,
For where Ale's vended that's an Alehouse.

The author mentions the signs, the Great Morat, the Sultan, Sultaness:

John's admir'd curled pate,
Or the Great Mogul in's chair of state.
Or Constantine the Grecian,
Who fourteen years was th' onely man
That made Coffee for the great Bashaw,
Although the man he never saw:
Or if you see a Coffee-cup
Fill'd from a Turkish pot, hung up
Within the clouds, &c.

He then proceeds to the company, and the several liquors:

The Gallant he for Tea doth call,
The Usurer for nought at all;
Pragmatic he doth intreat,
That they will fill him some Beau-cheat;
The Virtuoso he cries hand me,
Some Coffee mixt with Sugar-candy;
Phanaticus (at last) says, come,
Bring me some Aromaticum:
The Player bawls for Chocolate:
All which the Bumkin wond'ring at,

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Cries Ho, my Masters! what d'ye speak,
D'ye call for drink in Heathen Greek?
Give me some good old Ale or Beer,
Or else I will not drink I swear.

That these houses soon became places of general resort is very evident:

Of all some and all conditions,
Even Vintners, Surgeons, and Physicians,
The Blind, the Deaf, and aged Cripple,
Do here resort, and Coffee tipple.

I shall conclude this account with one line, which carries back the liquor farther than is generally known:

Spic'd Punch (in bowls) the Indians quaff.

Let us come now to tea with eggs. (Sir Kenelm Digby's Book of Receipts, Lond. 1669, 8vo. p. 155.)

The Jesuite that came from China, ann. 1664, told Mr. Waller, that there they use it sometimes in this manner: "To near a pint of the infusion, take two yolks of new-laid eggs, and beat them very well with as much fine sugar as is sufficient for this quantity of liquor; when they are very well incorporated, pour your tea upon the eggs and sugar, and stir them well together. So drink it hot. This is when you come home from attending business abroad, and are very hungry, and yet have not conveniency to eat presently a competent meal. This presently discusseth and satisfieth all rawness and indigestion of the stomach, flyeth suddenly over the whole body and into the veins, and strengtheneth exceedingly, and preserves one a good while from necessity of eating. Mr. Waller findeth all those effects of it thus with eggs."

It is certain that it was a favourite liquor with this poet, as we may infer from his verses on it:

The Muse's friend, Tea, does our fancy aid;
Repress those vapours which the head invade;
And keeps that palace of the soul serene.

King William, it has been said, was fond of this beverage; and from the same authority of report, in his time it was three pounds a pound.

Yours, &c.

1785, *Jan.* B.

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C. A Query whether MIMICIS REGIS be not an error for INIMICIS REGIS, with an Answer.

Mr. URBAN, *Jan.* 2.

IN the first volume of Warton's History of English Poetry, I find the following passage: "Nicola, Uxor Gerardi de Canvill, reddit computum de centum marcis pro maritanda Matildi filia sua cuicumque voluerit exceptis *Mimicis Regis.*" "Nicola, wife of Gerard of Canville, accounts to the King for 100 Marks for the Privilege of marrying her Daughter Maud to whatever person she pleases, the King's *Mimics* excepted."—Whether or no *Mimici Regis* are here a sort of players kept in the king's household for diverting the court at stated seasons, at least with performances of mimicry, I cannot indeed determine; yet we may remark an error, not unlikely to be made from the similarity of the I to the strokes that form the N, M, and U, in manuscripts of that date. If so the mistake must have arisen by reading *mimicis* instead of *inimicis regis*; and the king's enemies were the persons excepted.

Y. Z.

Mr. URBAN,

I LOOK upon the emendation of your friend Y. Z. in substituting *inimicis* for *mimicis*, to be so certain and indubitable as to want no confirmation. For the satisfaction, however, or rather the gratification of your correspondent, I shall briefly observe, 1st, that, though we currently use the word *mimic*, the Glossaries do not acknowledge the Latin *mimicus*.

2dly. That there is no reason why Nicola should be debarred from marrying her daughter to a mimic, as Maud, the daughter, was a great heiress, and the mother neither likely to think of disposing of her so meanly, nor the king to trouble himself about any such disposal of his ward, should the mother think proper to adopt it.

3dly. But what weighs most with me, and will with you, as I conceive, Mr. Urban, is, that I find a like clause in an old lease of the abbot and convent of Beauchief, A. D. 1641, where the demise is to the lessè and "such his assigns as to the same Abbot and Convent, and their successors, *have not been enemies*, nor hurtfull;" a case exactly parallel; the king being in the situation of the abbot and convent, and Nicola in that of the lessè.

Yours, &c.

1785, *Jan. June.* T. Row.

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CI. Midwives formerly baptized Infants.

Mr. URBAN,

MIDWIVES, heretofore, frequently performed the office of baptizing infants in cases of necessity. The following process, relative to that custom, is entered in the Consistorial Acts of the diocese of Rochester, and if you are of opinion that it may be a curious anecdote to the readers of the Gentleman's Magazine, you will be pleased to favour them with the perusal of it.

W. and D.

"1523, Oct. 14.—Eliz. Gaynsford, obstetrix, examinat' dicit in vim juramenti sui sub hac forma verborum.—"I, the aforesaid Elizabeth, seeing the childe of Tho. Everey, late born in jeapardy of life, by the authorite of my office, then beyng midwyfe, dyd christen the same childe under this manner, In the name of the Fader, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I christen thee Denys, iffundend' meram aquam super caput infantul'.—Interrogata erat, Whether the childe was born and delivered from the wyfe of the said Thomas; whereto she answereth and saith, that the childe was not born, for she saw nothyng of the childe but the hedde, and for perell the childe was in, and in that tyme of nede, she christened as is aforesaid, and cast water with her hand on the childe's hede. After which so done, the childe was born, and was had to the churche, where the Priest gave *to it that chrystynden that takkyd, and the childe is yet alyf.*"

1785, *Dec.*

CII. On Sables.

Mr. URBAN, *May* 3.

"*Let the Devil wear black, I'll have a suit of sables.*"

THIS strange speech of Hamlet may, perhaps, receive some elucidation from part of a statute of Brazen Nose College, Oxford, which was shewn to me in MS. by a deceased friend. The statutes bear date *primo die Februarii, anno Regis Henrici Octavi tertio-decimo*, A. D. 1522. It should seem that sables were reckoned finery in those days, and had nothing to do with mourning.—"Statuimus præterea, quod omnes et singuli prædicti togis longis in parte

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anteriore consutis infra universitatem utantur, et quod nullus eorum *pelluris pretiosis et sumptuosis*, vulgariter dictis *sabills*, sive *matrons, pannove* de velvet, damasco, sattin, aut chamblet, in suis vestibus, internis sive externis, aut earum fimbriis sive extremitatibus, vel in eorum liripipiis in universitate quoquo modo utatur."—Let the Devil mourn for me I'll dress gaily, is Hamlet's meaning, and I think this interpretation is countenanced by the quotation. A picture of Richard Gardiner, some time rector of Whitechapel, hangs in the vestry-room there. It was painted in 1617, the 15th of James I. and is a hard, poor picture. Gardiner is represented with sables, which occupy the place at this day filled with the scarf. He was 48 years rector of the parish, and his name appears in the list of benefactors to it.

Yours, &c.

1786, *May.* D. N.

CIII. On the Antiquity and Name of the Jew's Harp.

Mr. URBAN,

THE *Jew-trump*, or *Jew's-harp*, as it is often called, (and indeed it has more of the tone of a wire-strung harp than of a trumpet,) is now a boy's instrument, bought at fairs; it however was, it seems, an ancient instrument; for Mr. Pennant informs us (Tour to Scotland, p. 195,) that one made of gilt brass was found in Norway, deposited in an urn. The Scotch also have it as well as we. There is an evident allusion in the name to the inhabitants of Judea*; and I observe, that in Dodsley's Old Plays, vol. IV. p. 171, Quick calls the usurer, on account of his Jewish avarice, *a notable Jew's trump*. In the plate however, of Jewish musical instruments, presented to us by Calmet, in his Dictionary, nothing of this kind occurs; so that I much suspect that there is a corruption here of *Jeu-trompe*, a play-thing or *Play-tromp*, as it is now only used by boys for that purpose.

Yours, &c.

1786, *Aug.* T. ROW.

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* *Jew's harp* is probably a corruption of *Jaw's harp*, from the circumstance of its being placed between the teeth when played. E.

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CIV. Extract from Whitechapel Registers.

Mr. URBAN, *Sept.* 8.

THE extravagancies of the last age in regard to dropping the word *saint*, &c. and the solemnization of marriage before or by a justice of the peace, will receive some little elucidation, if you insert the following extracts from the register of St. Mary's Whitechapel, in your valuable and entertaining Miscellany.

Publications and Marriages in December 1653.

"26. Julius Wood of Nightingale-lane in this parish, marriner, and Martha Waggdon, of the same, widdow, were published in the market-place at Leaden-hall three severall market days in three several weeks (viz.) on the 16th day, on the 19th day, and on the 26th day of December, 1653; and the said Julius Wood and Martha Waggdon were married by me Richard Loton, esq. and justice of peace in the county of Middlesex, on the 26th day of December, 1653. Edward Callis, and Tobias Harborough, witnesses present."

Publications and Marriages in December 1654.

"Robert Allison of the parish of Botolph, Aldgate, gunsmith, and Ellinor Hathaway, of the parish of White Chappell, spinster, aged 22 years, were published three several Lord's Days at the close of the morning exercise at the publique meeting-place, commonly called Mary Whitechapel church, in the county of Middlesex, viz. on the 10th, 17th, and 24th days of December, 1654, and the said Robert Allison and Ellinor Hathaway were married before Richard Loton, esq. and one of the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex, on the 25th day of December, 1654.—Witnesses present were Thomas Prichard, and Richard Woodcock, and others."

One Richard Diggle was appointed registrar, being sworn into office and approved by Loton, and he it was who made publication in the market. In the year 1660, at the Restoration, the old forms and appellations immediately appear in the register.

Yours, &c.

1786, *Sep.* D. N.

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CV. Observations on Fuller's Charge against an Abbey in Essex.

MR. URBAN, *May* 2.

WHOEVER has attentively considered the history of the Reformation in England, cannot but be convinced that, however the hand of Providence may be conspicuously traced in its rise and progress, the instruments made use of to effect it were the ambition, lust, and avarice of Henry VIII. To gratify these reigning passions, which admitted no restraint or opposition, every measure that tended to shake off the authority of the see of Rome, whether sanctified by specious reasons or not, was eagerly adopted. To bring about the dissolution of monasteries, charges were alledged by visitors, and crimes extorted by forced confessions from the members of those societies, which posterity cannot read without horror, and which, in many instances, are but the too fatal consequences of celibacy ill understood, and absurdly enforced—crimes, for the commission of which the warmest advocates of such celibacy must tremble in every age. But, while these charges were brought, and crimes confessed in our own country, from the motives above-mentioned, can we give credit to such a bare-faced abomination as that which honest Fuller (Church Hist. b. VI. c. 31.) charges an abbey in a county adjacent to the capital? Your readers will easily perceive the clause pretended to have been inserted in the leases, whereby the lessee was enjoined yearly to provide a young girl to gratify the abbot's desires. The charge is general; for, though the two paragraphs, preceding that in which it is made, treat of the supposed intrigues between the monks of Waltham and the nuns of Cheshunt, by favour of supposed subterraneous vaults or sewers, common to every monastery, and in many applied, by vulgar fame, to a like use; we are not to fix the scandalous covenant on that particular house. "A reverend divine (who in the margin is called Mr. Steven Marshall) hath informed me," says Fuller, "that he hath seen such a passage in the lease of the abbey of Essex, &c. &c." It is but an hearsay story after all; and Fuller himself treats it as "more improbable (though generally reported)" than the scandalous fancies about the souterains, and reasons against it with equal plausibility and charity. It is, as we have before seen, a general charge, not levelled against any specific abbey in this extensive county of Essex, which had another mitred abbey (St. John's at Colchester.) Wealth and power are temptations to vitious ease and indulgence,

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which fall not within the reach of an inferior foundation. But, leaving the objects of this charge, let us see whom our gossipping punster has given as his authority for it: Stephen Marshall—"B. D. minister of Finchingfield in Essex, and archflamen of the rebellion," as Wood calls him, Ath. Ox. II. 38; and in his Fasti, II. 31, "that most notorious independant." He had the nick-name of the *Geneva Bull*, and was one of those factious and rebellious divines that preached up the lawfulness of resistance in matters of religion; and his initials stood foremost in the composition of *Smectymnus*, the most audacious blow against episcopacy that had been attempted. (Newcourt, Rep. II. 265.) How far this man's evidence is to be admitted, must be submitted to the judgment of the readers; as also, how far he might be qualified to read or understand the extraordinary tenures by which lands were formerly holden. The church, and a portion of the tythes of Finchingfield, whereof Marshall was vicar, were given to the prior and convent of St. Mary at Thetford by William Bigod, son of the founder of that house; a vicarage was endowed 1225, and the vicar was charged with 5 marks annuity to the poor vicars of St. Paul's, London. Another portion of tythes out of Ashfield manor, in Finchingfield, was given to Dunmow priory. This manor was held by service of sending a turnspit for the king at his coronation. The priory of Stoke by Clare had another portion of tythes here (Mon. Ang. I. 1096,) and the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in London had land here. (Ib. II. 526, 543, 553.) It should seem, therefore, that this wicked clause, which made such an impression on the good reformer, is to be sought for in the writings or registers of one of these three priories; and if it be, as he said, an Essex abbey, the priory of Dunmow must clear itself of the reproach: for that Waltham is not to bear the blame is clear, both from what has been before observed, and also from Fuller's not repeating it in his history of that town and abbey.

The great probability that Marshall misread or misunderstood this tenure, will further appear from a similar mistake made by Dr. Plot (Staffordsh. c. VIII. § xxi. 278.) "The places where now Borow English obtains, were anciently liable to the same ungodly custom granted to the lords of manors in Scotland by king Evenus, or Eugenius, whereby they had the privilege of enjoying the first night's lodging with their tenants' brides. That this custom obtained in England as well as in Scotland, we may rationally conclude, from the *marcheta mulierum* that was anciently paid here,

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as well as there, in lieu of it. Whereof I have seen a particular record of one Maynard of Berkshire, who held his lands by this tenure of the abbot of Abington, per servitium 18d. per annum, et dandi maritagium et *marchetum pro filia et sorore sua ad voluntatem ipsius abbatis* (Plac. de Banco in Die Pasch. 34, H. III. Rot. 20, Berksh.)" This record is cited by Spelman, Glossar. v. Marcheta; together with another for Suffolk, where the tenants paid, on the marriage of their daughters, *duas horas*, or 32d. both which plainly prove, that this *marcheta* was nothing more than a fine certain, or at the will of the lord, paid by the copyholders for licence to marry their daughters. Keysler, a German of much reading, has detailed much nonsense on the same mistake (Antiq. Septentr. 484—489,) which his countryman Wachter first detected (Gloss. Germ. v. Reitschof, 1279,) without, however, ascertaining the meaning of the word. *Marchetum* implies both a fine paid to the lord by the tenant as a penalty for suffering his daughter to be debauched, and also a fine for a licence to give her in marriage. Instances of both may be seen in Spelman, *ubi supra*, and in Lord Hailes's judicious dissertation on this subject at the end of the first volume of his "Annals of Scotland," (p. 312—329,) where the very probable origin of the custom is assigned.

Though we cannot possibly tell how the clause in the Essex lease is to be read; is it not therefore more than likely that it was capable of no other construction than that reserved by the abbot of Abington; and, whatever might be the inclinations of either lord, they derived no other power of doing wrong from this service, than the good cardinal of Piedmont did by his privilege, however his fancy prompted him to destroy the grant.

As little probability is there in the account given by Dr. Layton of the prior of Maiden Bradley:

"Ye shall also receive a bag of relicks, where ye shall see strange things, as God's coat, our Lady's smock, part of God's supper, *in cœnâ Domini pars petræ super quam natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem*, belike Bethlehem affords plenty of stone. These are all of Maiden Bradley, whereof a holy father is prior, who hath but six children, and but one daughter married yet, of the goods of the monastery, but trusting shortly to marry the rest: his sons, tall men, waiting upon him. He thanks God he never meddled with married women, but all with maidens, fairest that could be gotten, and always married them right well; the Pope, considering his fragilitie, gave him his license to keep a w—re, and he has good writing, *sub plumbo*, to discharge his conscience,

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and to choose Mr. Underhill to be his ghostly father, and to give him *plenam remissionem.*"

1787, *May.* D. A. D.

CVI. Remarkable Particulars in our ancient Parochial Churches.

MR. URBAN, *July* 13.

HAVING frequent opportunities of travelling into Kent, and receiving much pleasure from antiquarian contemplation, I beg leave to submit to yourself and numerous correspondents, an humble attempt for the purpose of explaining the uses in which some of the most remarkable particulars yet remaining about our ancient parochial churches were employed, as well from observation, as the assistance of undoubted authority; and which, I flatter myself, may not be wholly unacceptable.

INDAGATOR.

The first thing I shall mention as deserving notice is the *vestibulum ecclesiæ,* or porch, in which is generally found a bench on each side, extending its whole length; and, in many places yet remaining, the fragments of a stone bason, situated on the right-hand of the entrance to the church at the height of about three feet from the ground; this was the receptacle for holy water, used by every one about to enter the sacred edifice.

The porch was, without doubt, a very ancient appendage to the church; for Sexburga, who founded the nunnery at Minster, in the isle of Sheppy, is said to have expired in the church porch at Milton in Kent, anno 680; and Gervase, the monk of Canterbury, in his account of the burning of Christ-church, 1174, says, "accensus est ignis ante portam ecclesiæ extra muros atrii." However the porch may have been passed over as a matter of mere ornament, it had its especial uses, which I will endeavour immediately to explain. In that part of the will of the pious Henry VI. relative to the foundation of his college at Eton, is this article: "Item, in the south side of the body of the church a fair large door with a porch, and the same for christening of children and weddings*." Somner relates, that in 1299 Edward I. was married at Canterbury to Margaret, sister to

* Royal Wills, p. 279.

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the King of France, by Archbishop Winchelsea, "in ostio ecclesiæ versus claustrum*."

The following rubric occurs in a missal, printed at Paris in 1515, secundum usum Sarum: "statuantur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ, sive in faciem ecclesiæ coram Deo, et sacerdote et populo;" &c. which points out the use of the porch in the performance of this rite. By the rituals under the article, "de benedictione mulieris post partum," i. e. churching women, it appears, that the priest goes to the door of the church, where, the woman is to receive ecclesiastical benediction, kneeling down; the 23d psalm is said, with some responses, after which she is led into the church, the conclusion being made before the altar.

But the most particular use of the porch was in administering the sacrament of baptism. "Stans igitur in ecclesiæ limine sacerdos, interrogat catechizandum stantem ad fores ecclesiæ†." Here the necessary questions being asked, and prayers being said, "ducat eum vel eam in ecclesiam dicendo, Ingredere in sanctam ecclesiam Dei ut accipias benedictionem cœlestem a Domino Jesu Christo." Nothing can be more apparent, than that the performance of these rites would have been many times impracticable, not to say dangerous to the health of persons so tender as women generally are at the time of churching, and particularly infants when baptized, had it not been for the kind invention of the porch, which effectually secured them against the inclemency of the seasons, and by which every necessity for delaying these duties was removed.

Entering the body of the church, or "aula ecclesiæ," the font is discovered usually placed near the doors at the west end. They are to be met with of very ancient forms; many, as may be conjectured from their decorations, seeming to have remained since the Norman, and even the Saxon times; nor has due attention been wanting to these venerable remains of sacred antiquity, though the reason for their vast capacity is as yet, in some measure, to be freed from doubt. Respecting the font itself, it should, by a constitution of Archbishop Edmund, be placed in every church where baptism might be performed; also the font, or "baptisterium," must be "lapideum, vel aliud competens, scil. quod baptizandus possit in eo mergi‡," according to Lynwood, which may be assigned as one sufficient cause of its largeness: it

* Hist. Canterbury, 167.
† Missale Rom. secundum Usum Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Lugduni 1528.
‡ Gibson's Codex, vol. I. 485.

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should also be inclosed within a lattice, nor should the water be kept in it, according to the said constitution, above seven days. As the method of baptizing throws some light on the subject, it will be worth the insertion. By the 42d apostolic canon, three ablutions of one mystery were commanded on pain of being deposed; this seems to have been the usual practice of the church. The mode of baptizing was thus, according to the practice of the Roman Court: "tunc baptizet eum sub trina mersione sanctam trinitatem semel invocando, sic dicens, N. ego te baptizo in nomine patris, *et merget semel*, et filii, *et merget secundo*, et spiritus sancti, *et merget tertio**."

I shall now beg your attention towards the chancel, at the entrance of which, placed on the "gradus chori," (where many things were read in the jejune seasons of the year,) stands the skreen dividing it from the "aula." This is frequently of excellent work, but too well known to need any description, though it will not be impertinent to remark, that in the above will of Henry VI. there is mention of a "*reredosse* (skreen,) bearing the rood-loft departing the choir and the body of the church†." At the North end of the skreen, in many old churches, the entrance of a small staircase seems worthy of attention. This leads up to a door, at a moderate height from the pavement. At this door was the place of the pulpit, probably the rood-loft, as appears from the following rubrics: "Incepta vero ultima oratione ante epistolam subdiaconus per medium chori ad legendum epistolam in pulpitum accedat."—"Quando epistola legitur duo pueri in superpelliciis, factâ inclinatione ad altare ante gradum chori in pulpitum per medium chori ad gradale incipiendum se preparent et suum versum cantandum‡." There is also another, for reading the Gospel towards the North, in the same place, by the deacon, attended by the subdeacon, who holds the book; as also by two clerks, bearing candles, with a third, having the "thuribulum." As it would be impossible for so many to perform their duty with propriety, circumscribed in the narrow limits of the present pulpit, it is natural to conclude, the pulpit to which these stairs led might be the rood-loft, particularly as it appears to have been placed over the skreen, as is manifest from the will of Henry VI. and that the upper stair usually ascends nearly even with the top of the skreen. From this place also the sermon was made, the curate being obliged to

* Missale, 1528. † Royal Wills, 302. ‡ Missale, 1515.

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preach four times in the year, by an ecclesiastical constitution of Archbishop Peckham, in which this injunction is worth remarking: "Exponat populo vulgariter absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica*." From which reading and preaching to the people assembled in the nave, "ubi insident ipsi parochiani laici†," it may be concluded, the body of the church received the name of "auditorium."

The chancel itself comes next in order to be considered. Lynwood says, "Cancellus est intersticium inter propugnacula murorum quale est quod claudit chorum a nave ecclesiæ‡." This seems to have been considered, in all ages, as the most sacred part of the church. We find, by the 19th Laodicean canon, none were admitted but those of the priesthood during the oblation; and women were totally excluded by the 44th canon of the same council. From the present remains of our old parochial chancels it is natural to conclude them to have been adapted to the most solemn acts of religion. Upon entering it from the nave, we observe, on either hand, the remaining stalls, with desks before them, appropriated to the use of the choir; which, notwithstanding, the author of "The Kentish Traveller's Companion" (who observes, the *sacred offices of superstition* were sung in this place,) thinks was composed of priests officiating at the altars of chauntries, founded in the church or parish§; and Dr. Harris, or Mr. Thorpe‖ after him, supposes them to be for accommodating the clergy attending the archbishops residing at their mansion; who might have seen them in churches not of the peculiars, and where there never were any episcopal mansions.

But as stalls are found in churches where it is improbable there should be priests officiating in chauntries sufficient to fill perhaps a dozen or more seats, and also where no great flocks of clergy had occasion to come, the choir might have been composed of such of the parishioners as should chuse to sing, there being no reason for excluding the laity from thence, since the establishment of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and several other foundations of that kind, admitted of choristers, an office not included in the seven degrees of orders in the church.

Proceeding up the chancel, we ascend three steps, on which once stood the high altar, now occupied by the communion table. The altar should be of stone, and consecrated by the bishop. The ends were termed its horns;

* Gib. Codex. † Ibid. ‡ Ib. 222. § p. 71.
‖ Bib. Top. Brit. No. VI. p. 40.

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that on the right being the "cornu epistolæ," from the Epistle being read there, as the Gospel was on the left. Near the altar, in the South wall of the chancel, are to be observed three seats frequently under as many beautiful subdivided Gothic arches, supported by buttresses, and enriched with finials, &c. Seats of this nature are still to be met with at Cliff, at Cobham, and the cathedral at Rochester, in Kent; at which last they are at a great distance from the East end of the choir: and it is probable, the high altar was not fixed against the wall, but had a space behind it, which is common in places of this kind, and called "concameratio;" by means of which it was possible for the altar to be surrounded in processions by the monks*. The very agreeable Gothic structure at Camberwell, in Surrey, also furnishes seats of this kind; not to mention many other places. Between the last seat and the East wall, is a small nich, generally in the same stile, and frequently appearing like a fourth arch. The nich is also to be met with where the seats are wanting; and in other parts of the church besides the chancel the bottom is also hollowed, and sometimes a double hollow. The intention of these seats has been of late a matter of doubt, they were by many thought to have been for hearing confessions, which opinion has been sufficiently controverted. They have been also supposed for accommodating the visitor and his two attendants, with perhaps as little probability. For it cannot be argued that they were brought into use at the general visitation held for centuries before the Reformation in much the same manner as at present, viz. in some convenient part in each diocese, and at one time. Nor does it seem reasonable that the chancel should be incumbered with three seats, which at most could come but into annual use by the archdeacon in the parochial visitation; at which time a single seat appears more to the purpose, he being allowed six, not two, attendants; for each of whom he received an equal procuration. It must also be acknowledged he could only be seated in service-time, since an actual survey was to be taken of the building itself, its books and ornaments, which no one can suppose could be done in the chancel. The archdeacon might also visit several churches in one day; whence it must be impossible he should be obliged to hear service performed. But shortly after the time of Archbishop Langton, who was succeeded in the see of Canterbury 1228, archdeacons began to perform

* Fuller's Church History, 286.

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their visitations by inquiry at two annual chapters; so that, soon after that period, there could be no more necessity for these seats in parochial than general visitations.

I shall now, Mr. Urban, with the merited deference to the judgment of yourself and antiquarian readers, endeavour to point out what appears to have been the purpose of the nich and seats in question. It will be necessary just to hint, that the mass, the most august of all the ceremonies of the church, was performed in the chancel; and from thence take occasion to conclude it to have been furnished with every thing necessary for the due solemnity of its celebration, either when said by a single clergyman, or by several, accompanied by the choir. In a rubric, "De Junctione Manuum," it is mentioned, "Vadit (sacerdos) ab altare ad piscinam et revertitur;" and, in another place, "declinet ad abluendum manus*;" also, "reliquus (sc. ceroferarius) *pelvim* cum aqua et manutergio portet†." These will be explained by another, from a missal of later date, in which it is said the altar should be provided with "parva campanula, ampullæ vitreæ vini et aquæ cum pelvicula et manutergio mundo, in fenestella seu parva mensa ad hæc præparata‡." Now it is very plain, by what is here termed "fenestella," is signified the small nich above described; and this particularly points out the places once occupied by altars. As a further proof of this, "two altars stood in either wing of the choir (at Canterbury) viz. in each semicircle there is one§." On the right hand side, in each of these places, a small nich, or fenestella, of this kind yet remains. By the word "piscina" a vessel or bason for washing hands, &c, seems to be designed, as "pelvis" assuredly signifies, which probably filled up the hollow found in the fenestella. Two pair of such basons were bequeathed by Cardinal Beaufort to the altar of the chauntry by him founded in his cathedral at Winchester. The present method of making the "lavabo" rather differs; for "accedit (sacerdos) ad cornu epistolæ ubi stans ministro aquam fundente lavat manus‖."

The triple seat comes next under discussion, and I flatter myself its use will be pretty well explained by what immediately follows: "Quo facto sacerdos et sui ministri in sedibus

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* Missal, 1528.
† Ibid. 1515.
‡ Ex Decreto Concilii Triden. Coll. Agrip. 1658.
§ Somner's Hist. of Canterbury, 170.
‖ Missal, 1658.

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paratis se recipiant et expectent usque ad Gloria in excelsis*." Also, in the rubric of instructions for Saturday before Easter, "Finitis orationibus exuat sacerdos casulam et in sede sua juxta altare se reponat cum diacono et subdiacono." In order to explain the two last quotations, take another rubric: "In missa solemni, celebrans medius inter diaconum et subdiaconum sedere potest a cornu epistolæ cum cantantur Kyrie eleison, Gloria in excelsis, et Credo†." Notwithstanding the last rather differs from the others, as to the times of sitting, yet they all sufficiently agree in explaining the matter in agitation, viz. That the above seats were intended for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, to sit on during some parts of the high or solemn mass; and that they were situated on the South side, and near the altar, and were three in number. This, of all the purposes to which conjecture has consigned them, is certainly the most natural; and it must add considerably to the solemnity, for the three officiants to be seen in their mass habits, seated under these beautiful canopies.—I shall beg to trouble you with a word or two concerning chauntries, and conclude. Dr. Heylin informs us, they consisted of salaries to one or more priests to say mass daily for the souls of their founders deceased, which, not subsisting of themselves, were generally incorporated and united with some parochial, &c. church‡: as there were forty-seven chauntries in the old church of St. Paul, at London, and but fourteen altars§, it was possible for several to be founded at the same altar. From the remaining "fenestellæ" it is not unreasonable to conclude, that at the East ends of the North and South ailes of many parish-churches, two such altars to have once stood, whose officiants were bound by an oath to exhibit due obedience to the curate of the mother church‖; and the four priests appointed to officiate in the chauntry of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, in St. Katherine's, near the Tower, were bound to the choir every double feast in the year¶. In chauntries founded for more than one clergyman, it was usual for each to say a different mass, one of which was always of "requiem**." When a person was not sufficiently rich to endow a perpetual chauntry, it was common

* Missal, 1515, general rubric to the mass.
† Missal, 1658.
‡ Heylin's History of the Reformation, 51.
§ Fuller's Church Hist. 350.
‖ Ayliffe's Perergon Juris Canonici, 166.
¶ Royal Wills, p. 287.
** Royal Wills, p. 287.

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for an anniversary chaplain to sing masses for the repose of his soul during a certain space, for which a stipend was left, as appears by the will of Robert Wolsey the father of the famous Cardinal*. From what has been said concerning chauntries, it is evident there might have been several founded in the church, though but the vestiges of one or two altars yet remain; from the subjection of whose officiants to the curate they might have assisted him in many duties, as with his licence in hearing confessions, which must have been very laborious at certain times of the year, particularly at Shrift or Shrove Tuesday, when it was the custom to begin Lent with this duty. And though they were generally prohibited from receiving the Eucharist more than once on the same day, yet they might assist in solemn masses†, as deacon or subdeacon; as also in the choir, probably in the place of its rectors, &c. Nor can this be brought as an argument that there were sufficient numbers established in every parish to fill each stall in the chancel of its church, as has been hinted at in its proper place.

1787, *Aug.* INDAGATOR.

CVII. On the Original Embankment of the Thames.

MR. URBAN, *London, June* 13.

ALL persons here, who have read the account of the embankment and improvement of Martin Mear, in Mr. Young's "Annals of Agriculture," No. XXXI. are astonished at the greatness of the attempt, and much more so at the successful execution of it. This work excites the curiosity of the ingenious, who look for any instance of a similar undertaking, but can find none to be compared with it in this island, but the embankment of the river Thames: and, what is very singular, there does not seem to be any record or trace in history, when, or by whom, the Thames was embanked. As there is not any person who is so knowing as Mr. Whitaker in the early state of this country, so no person can give so satisfactory an account of this matter. If Mr. Urban would please to request Mr. Whitaker to give his opinion on this subject, he would give much pleasure to a constant

* Fiddes's Life of Wolsey, Collect. p. 1.
† Gibs. Codex, 471.

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reader of your useful collection of general information, and I dare also say to all your readers.

The embankment of the river Thames must appear to have been a very great work indeed, if we consider that it reaches from the Nore almost to Richmond in Surrey, on one side or the other of the river, as the land lay. Some judgment may be formed of it by the difficulty and expence of repairing Dagenham breach in Essex. The embankment of the Thames evidently shews, that the inhabitants of this island were very early possessed of great skill and perseverance in whatever they undertook. There is another instance of their industry, the atchievement of an astonishing work, I mean the Maiden Castle in Dorsetshire. Many people now-a-days give the Romans the honour of whatever surpasses what they think themselves could execute, without inquiring into the probability of such an opinion. Dorsetshire was a Roman station, of which vestiges still remain in the town, and an amphitheatre near it. But at the Maiden Castle no vestige of Roman work, such as bricks, coins, &c. have been found. The ramparts are made only of earth, and the entry into it is defended in a manner different from the ruins of any Roman camp now remaining. When, standing on the ramparts, one looks around, the whole horizon is full of tumuli or barrows. These are, undoubtedly, the burying places of people at a very distant period, and probably of the same period with the building of Maiden Castle. There are, in that country, many remains of Druidical worship. It would hence appear, that the Maiden Castle was cast up when that worship existed. The area of the Maiden Castle is so extensive, that it is probable it was intended not only for a defence of the inhabitants in case of an attack by a powerful enemy, but also of their flocks and herds.

May I not mention Stone-henge as another remain of the labour of the inhabitants prior to any tradition, and probably prior to the arrival of the Romans, who had acquired a taste in architecture, of which no trace is to be found in Stone-henge? There is in Dorsetshire a large altar remaining, which has retained its original name, Cromleach, a Celtic word, implying bending the body in adoration of the deity worshipped by the Druids.

Mr. URBAN, *Aug.* 11.

IN compliance with yours and your correspondent's request, which I did not see until a few days ago, I take up my pen, to give you and him all the little information that I

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can give, upon so obscure a subject as the embankment of the Thames. We have no written authorities concerning it. There is not a hint, or the shadow of a hint, in any of the Roman authors respecting it. And we can only fix a date upon that memorable work from reasoning and remains united.

When the Britons were the sole lords of this island, their rivers, we may be sure, strayed at liberty over the adjacent country, confined by no artificial barriers, and having no other limits to their overflow than what nature itself had provided. This would be particularly the case with the Thames. London itself was only a fortress in the woods then; and the river at its foot then roamed over all the low grounds that skirt its channel. Thus it ran on the South from the West of Wandsworth to Woolwich, to Dartford, to Gravesend, and to Sheerness; and, on the North range, from Poplar and the Isle of Dogs, along the levels of Essex, to the mouth of the Thames.

In this state of the river, the Romans settled at London. Under their management, London soon became a considerable mart of trade. It afterwards rose to the dignity of a military colony. And it was even made at last the capital of one of those provinces into which the Roman parts of Britain were divided. The spirit of Roman refinement, therefore, would naturally be attracted by the marshes immediately under its eye, and would as naturally exert itself to recover them from the waters. The low grounds of St. George's Fields, particularly, would soon catch the eye, and soon feel the hand, of the improving Romans. And from those grounds the spirit of embanking would gradually go on along both the sides of the river; and, in nearly four centuries of the Roman residence here, would erect those thick and strong ramparts against the tide, which are so very remarkable along the Essex side of the river, and a breach in which, at Dagenham, was with so much difficulty, and at so great an expence, closed even in our own age.

Such works are plainly the production of a refined period. They are therefore the production either of these later ages of refinement, or of some period of equal refinement in antiquity. Yet they have not been formed in any period to which our records reach. Their existence is antecedent to all our records. They are the operation of a remoter age. And then they can be ascribed only to the Romans, who began an æra of refinement in this island, that was terminated by the Saxons, and that did not return till three or four centuries ago.

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But let me confirm my reasoning with a few facts. It is well known, that a dispute was formerly maintained between Dr. Gale and others, concerning the real position of the Roman London; whether it was on the northern or on the southern side of the river. The dispute was a very frivolous one. London undoubtedly was then, as it is now, upon the northern. But I mean to turn the dispute into its right channel. And I can demonstrate, I think, the embankment of the Thames to be a work of the Romans, from some incidents that came out in the course of it.

"It can hardly be supposed," says an antagonist of Dr. Gale's, who has considered the ground more attentively than any other author, "that the sagacious Romans would have made choice of so noisome a place for a station, as St. George's Fields must then have been. For to me it is evident, that at that time those fields must have been overflowed by every spring-tide. For, notwithstanding the river's being at present confined by artificial banks, I have frequently, at spring-tides, seen the small current of water, which issues from the river Thames through a common-sewer at the Falcon, not only fill all the neighbouring ditches, but also, at the upper end of Gravel-lane, overflow its banks into St. George's Fields. And considering that above a twelfth part of the water of the river is denied passage," when the tide sets up the river, "by the piers and starlings of London-Bridge (it flowing, at an ordinary spring-tide, upwards of nineteen inches higher on the east than on the west side of the said bridge;) I think this is a plain indication, that, before the Thames was confined by banks, St. George's Fields must have been considerably under water, every high tide; and that part of the said fields, called Lambeth Marsh, was under water not an age ago. And upon observation it will still appear, that, before the exclusion of the river, it must have been overflowed by most *neap tides**."

This gives us sufficient evidences, that naturally and originally the large level, which we denominate St. George's Fields, was, previously to the embankment of the Thames, all covered with the spreading waters of the tide, at every spring. Yet this very strand of the sea appears to have been actually used by the Romans. The Romans had houses upon it: the Romans had burying-grounds within it. "In his Campis quos Sancti Georgii plebs vocat," says Dr. Gale for another purpose, "*multa* Romanorum *numismata, opera*

* Maitland's Hist. of Lond. p. 8.

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tesselata," the fine floors of Roman parlours, "*lateres, et rudera*, subinde deprehensa sunt. Ipse *urnam* majusculam, ossibus refertam, nuper redemi a fossoribus, qui, non procul ab hoc Burgo," Southwark, "ad Austrum, *multas alias* simul eruerunt*."

This argument may be pursued still further, carried over the very site of Southwark itself, and extended up to Deptford, and Blackheath beyond. All these are a part of the original marshes of the Thames. Southwark even stands upon what is properly a part of St. George's Fields. Yet Southwark is expressly mentioned so early as 1052; and began, undoubtedly with the bridge, which is noticed so early as 1016 before†. And, as Dr. Woodward remarks in opposition to Dr. Gale's discoveries in St. George's Fields, "there have been other like antiquities discovered, from that place onwards for some miles eastward, near the lock, in the gardens along the south side of Deptford road, a little beyond Deptford, on Blackheath, &c.—I have now in my custody the hand of an antient *Terminus*—with two faces.—There were found along with it, large flat bricks, and other antiquities, that were unquestionably Roman. All these were retrieved about twenty years since, in digging in Mr. Cole's Gardens by the [Deptford] road mentioned above. I have seen likewise a *simpulum*, that was digged up near New-cross. And there were several years ago discovered two *urns*, and five or six of those vials that are usually called *Lachrymatories*, a little beyond Deptford. Nay, there hath been very lately a great number of *urns*, and other things, discovered on Blackheath‡."

These are decisive evidences, that the wonderful work of embanking the river was projected and executed by the Romans. It was the natural operation of that magnificent spirit which intersected the surface of the earth with so many raised ramparts for roads. The Romans first began it in St. George's Fields probably. They then continued it along the adjoining, and equally shallow, marshes of the river. And they finally consummated it, I apprehend, in constructing the grand sea-wall along the deep fens of Essex.

To what I have thus said, I can add only one thing more.

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* Antonini Itin. p. 65.

† Florentius Wigorn. 413. "cum sua classe Godwinus Comes, adversus eorsum Thamesis fluminis directus,—ad *Suthweorer* venit," &c. edit. 1592; and Saxon Chron. 1016 for the bridge.

‡ Leland's Itin. edit. 3d. vol. VIII. at the end a letter to Mr. Hearne, written in 1711, and preface to it, p. 7.

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There is, I remember, in Wren's *Parentalia*, a passage upon this very subject, containing the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren respecting it. There Sir Christopher, if I remember right, extends the overflow of the tide considerably more into the land than I have done. But he attributes the embankment, as I do, to the Romans; though he has not appealed to that striking demonstration of the opinion, the British state of St. George's Fields, &c. contrasted with the Roman condition of them.

Yours, &c.

1787, *June, Aug.* J. W.

CVIII. On the Office of Aulneger.

Mr. URBAN, *Sept.* 30.

AULNEGER is derived from *ulna* and *gerens*, and is the name of an officer under the king, established about the year 1350, whose business it was to measure all English woollen cloths before they were brought into market, and then to affix an impression of his seal. This measure was to be the government between the buyer and seller, and to prevent all disputes about short measure. It is now obsolete. The first statute made for it is 25 Edward III. wherein it is enacted, that all cloths shall be measured by the king's aulneger; and that every buyer of cloth, after the price is agreed in the halls or markets, shall have it measured by the king's aulneger, who shall put his stamp thereon, and the piece of cloth shall stand for that length. And it was further enacted, that, to prevent the aulneger's tumbling or defoiling them when he measured them, he was to provide himself with a string of the length of seven yards, and the piece was to measure four times the length of that string; and he was to measure it at the creased edge. 27 Edward III. ordains the following fees to the aulneger: for every piece of cloth of ray (or white cloth,) 28 yards long and 6 quarters wide, one halfpenny, and no more, and every half-piece one farthing, and no more; to be paid by the seller.

N. B. The best cloth then yielding about 2s. per yard, amounts to about 4d. per piece, on a modern superfine of 16s. per yard, 28 yards long. Many other statutes were made on this head, viz. 17 Rich. II. 7 Hen. IV. 11 Hen. IV. 11 Hen. VI. 4 Edw. IV. 17 Edw. IV. 5 Edw. VI. and others.

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In 11 Henry IV. all the aulnegers' seals were called in, and new ones were delivered out.

In the year 1437 Sir Walter Lord Hungerford, for his services at the relief of the siege of Calais, had a pension granted him*, out of the aulnage of cloth for Wiltshire, of one hundred marks per annum; by which we may judge there was a considerable quantity of cloth manufactured in Wiltshire in those early times. But I think one hundred marks, divided into halfpence, is too large a number to be probable, especially when we consider that hardly a century had passed since Edward III. brought over the Flemish artificers. However, I find, that in 27 Edw. III. besides the aulnage, parliament granted a subsidy, to maintain the French war, of 4d. per annum, to be collected also by the aulneger, 6d. if a scarlet in grain, and 5d. if bastard, or half-scarlet. If, therefore, this subsidy was continued or revived (as is very probable, we having for some time been engaged in a very expensive war with France,) the whole might very easily and naturally be called the aulnage of cloth. As, therefore, there was granted a pension of 100 marks out of this fund, there were also many other expences to be provided for, the salary of the aulneger, &c. so that I think we may conclude the pension would not have been more than half the fund; which therefore would have been about 200 marks per annum. To produce which, at 4½d. per piece (aulnage and subsidy,) there must have been manufactured annually in the county of Wilts seven thousand one hundred and eleven pieces of broad cloth, containing one hundred and ninety-nine thousand yards, or thereabouts.

1787, *Nov.* P. Q.

CIX. On the Cities which have formerly been the Capital of England.

Mr. URBAN, *Winchester, Nov. 1.*

THAT London is the present metropolis of England, we presume the most ignorant of its inhabitants are informed; but how long London has enjoyed this prerogative, and what cities have preceded her in this dignity, are points which the most learned do not appear to have hitherto ascertained.

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* Dugdale.

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That there were cities of a certain kind previous to the Roman invasion, notwithstanding the rude and pastoral life of its inhabitants, independent of other proofs, appears from the extraction of many of their names at the present day being British instead of Latin or Saxon. The city, for example, from whence the present letter is dated, was called by the Aborigines *Caer guent*, or the *White City*, from the chalky hills that every where surround it; which proper name, in a Roman mouth, was naturally transformed into *Venta*, and, with the addition of the word that denoted it to be a fortified place, was pronounced of course by a Saxon, as we read it in their historians, *Wintaceaster*. Yet, notwithstanding we are satisfied of the existence of cities in this island before the Roman eagle waved its wings over it, the circumstantial history of the British Geofery, concerning their ancient state and founders, though not quite so destitute of foundation as many suppose, is yet too uncertain to ground a claim of precedency in any one of them.

Had Casibellaunus been the hereditary monarch of the island, instead of the elected general amongst independent chieftains, to oppose the mighty Julius, as it appears that *Verulam*, to which our protomartyr Alban afterwards lent his name, was his chief city, so the same might be said to have been the capital of the island. As soon, however, as the Roman power was fully established, we have no difficulty in bestowing that title on Camalodunum, now Malden, in Essex, the first of their colonies, and the chief seat of their goverment, where also the tributary Cunobellinus (the Cymbeline of Shakespeare) sometimes held a precarious sway. Hence, in that generous struggle for liberty which our British Amazon Boadicea maintained against the invaders, we find that Camalodunum was the first and chief object of her vengeance, as the very centre of Roman tyranny. This brave heroine being, by the fate of war, afterwards overcome on the confines of the Belgæ, which spot, from other circumstances, appears to have been on the eastern borders of Hampshire, is asserted, on the faith of some ancient manuscripts, to have been buried at *Venta*, which, during this period, makes a considerable figure both as a place of commerce and defence. It appears that the imperial manufactory of sailcloth and of clothing was established in this city; the fortifications of it also, which are said to have been first raised by Mulmutius Dunwallo, were, about this time, put into complete repair by Guiderius, otherwise called Togodumnus, on his refusing to pay tribute to the Roman conquerors. In these fortifications, if we

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may believe Matthew of Westminster, and British in opposition to Latin historians, the Emperor Claudius himself was besieged, after being defeated near Clausentum (the modern Southampton) till he was obliged to purchase peace of Arviragus on ignominious terms. During the period I am speaking of, it is agreed on all hands, that London was not fortified, and though celebrated, says Tacitus, for the resort of merchants, it was not honoured with the title of a colony.

In process of time, as the seat of war was removed to the Northern parts of the island, and while the Roman legions were chiefly stationed on the confines of the Picts, the colony of York seems to have risen to the first degree of eminence. Certain it is, that two Roman emperors, Severus and Constantius Chlorus, died there, and that the great Constantine was advanced to the dignity of emperor in that city.

If, during the turbulent and cloudy scene that succeeded the retiring of the Roman legions from Britain, till the establishment of the Heptarchy, any city was more particularly distinguished, it appears to be Winchester. Here it was that Constans, who had been a resident of the cloister of that ancient cathedral, was crowned King of Britain. Here also mention is made in history of Aurelius Ambrosius, Uther Pendragon, and of the great Arthur's, having resided. The last named, it is universally asserted, built the castle of Winchester, which continued one of the chief bulwarks of the island till it was battered down by the usurper Cromwell. In this castle Arthur is said to have held his martial sports, and feasted his knights, as at his principle palace. In proof of this, a huge round table is still preserved in the ancient chapel of the castle, now the county hall, as the identical table round which his knights were placed at their feast to avoid contentions for precedency: certain it is, that it was shewn for such to the Emperor Charles V. in 1512, at which time it was, for the last time, new painted; that it was described as such by Hardinge the poet in the reign of Edw. IV. and that it was generally reputed as such in the beginning of the twelfth century. The words of John, Bishop of Ross, on this subject, are as follow: "Si accolæ falsa quadam nominum superstitione conflictati non errant rotundam mensam in castro Wintoniensi ad æternam magni Arturis memoriam solemniter conservatam aspexi an. 1139."

Notwithstanding the sevenfold division of the kingdom by the Saxons, we still find some one of the rival princes during the Heptarchy paramount to the rest. Hence the

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chief seat of government, though more frequently found at Winchester than at any other particular place, may be said to have changed to each of these petty kingdoms, as each of them in turn prevailed, except that of the East Angles, as if it had been destined that London, its principal city, should never rise to the rank of metropolis of the kingdom till she should become so once for all, and we hope for ever.

> *Huic* ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
> Imperium sine fine dedi.
>
> ÆNEID.

At length, however, the kingdom of the West Saxons swallowing up the rest, Egbert, assembling a wittenagemot, or meeting of the chief persons of the kingdom, at Winchester, his principal city, caused himself to be there crowned monarch of the whole nation, and destroyed every distinction of name, as well as government, that had hitherto subsisted. At this period, perhaps for the first time, we are to look out for a city, which, uniting in itself all the several advantages of extent of building and of commerce, of being the repository of public records and revenues, and of being the chief royal residence and seat of government, can, with the strictest propriety, and without the danger of competition, be called the capital of England. Such Winchester then was, and such it continued to be till an undefined period in the reign of the Plantagenets, and for a space of time, perhaps, equal to the duration of proud London's precedency.

The present condition of this city, we are to observe, exhibits but the skeleton of what it was during the period I am speaking of; for, besides the incredible number of houses and churches crowded within its walls, its suburbs then reached a mile in every direction beyond their precincts. That it was the first city in the island for commerce, I think may be fairly deduced from the first guild, or confraternity of merchants, being established here, so early as the reign of Ethelwolph, the father of Alfred, and from the charter of immunity from toll throughout the kingdom, granted to this guild by Henry I. a participation of which privilege was not conferred on the citizens of London till the reign of Richard I. In like manner, we find in its archives the city of Winchester described as incorporated by the name of mayor and bailiffs, anno 1187, that is to say, above twenty years before London obtained a charter for the same purpose, during which time its chief magistrate

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enjoyed no higher title than that of portgrave or bailiff of the port.

Even from the days of Cerdic the first king of the West Saxons, down to the present day, Winchester has never been without the honour of possessing a royal palace, nor, till the Revolution, was ever without the happiness of being the place of the monarch's occasional residence. The first Saxon palace we read of was that of Wolvesey, so called some say, in after-times, from the tribute of wolves heads paid by the Welch there; but this was given by Kenwalch, the son of Kinegilsus, who built it, to Agilbert and his successors, for the episcopal residence. In after-times, besides the stately castle at the top of the city, the ditches of which were sunk to the level with the river which then flowed round it, the king had a magnificent palace between the northern and western gates of the city, in a place where afterwards Edward III. established the woolstapling manufactory. It is true that, after the Confessor, who himself was crowned at Winchester, our monarchs affected to be crowned at Westminster; but this was not on account of any pre-eminence in the place itself, or of its vicinity to London, but merely out of a regard to that just benevolent prince its founder, whose remains and whose regalia were both preserved there, the latter of which the prejudice of the times seems to have almost consecrated into the sole implements of a legitimate coronation. No doubt, it was with a view of strengthening the defectiveness of his title with this then so important a ceremony, that the jealous Norman caused himself to be crowned anew at each of the three principal festivals of the year, Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas; the first of which, being the greatest, he constantly passed at Winchester, the second at Westminster, and the third at Gloucester. In this practice he was imitated by his successor Rufus.

Finally, that Winchester, long before and long after the Conquest, was the seat of government, appears, 1st, from the public archives being kept there, as Giraldus, Camden, &c. assert; this circumstance is so notorious in regard of Doomsday Book, that from thence it obtained the name of Rotulus Wintoniæ. 2dly, From the Court of Exchequer, of which this book was the principal document, being established there by the Conqueror. 3dly, From the royal treasures being collected thither by the first Norman princes, which, Diceto tells us, Henry I. hastened to seize immediately after his coronation. And, lastly, from its possessing the royal mint, as appears by the charter of John to this

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effect. I might here mention, that the great seal of England took its origin from this city, and that an office was at first established there by Edward the Confessor for the preservation and use of it.

With the reign of the monarch who derived his surname from Winchester, the precedency of this city may, in a great measure perhaps, be said to have ended. It had, indeed, suffered a dilapidation in the civil war between the Empress Maud and Stephen, when two hostile armies were actually intrenched, one in the east and the other in the west quarter of it, which it could never afterwards recover; but it was chiefly the increasing commerce and consequence of London, by means of its foreign trade, the spirit of which was introduced at the Conquest, which consequence was still farther augmented by the charters of the Edwards, that gradually reduced Winchester to a condition which allows her little to boast of but her past honours:

——— Fuimus Troës: fuit Ilium, et ingens
Gloria Teucrorum. ÆNEID.

How far, however, the unrestrained rage of increasing the present capital, by draining the provinces of their wealth and inhabitants, of whom indeed London may be called the general grave; how far, I say, this tends to the detriment of the common empire, it is not necessary at present to inquire.

I must not omit, that the struggle for precedency between these two rival cities, Winchester and London, was chiefly manifested, for about two centuries after the Conquest, on the occasion of the king's coronation, or of his solemnly wearing his crown; the question being, which of these cities, in the persons of their magistrates, should officiate then as butlers, and which as clerks of the kitchen. The former post was the more honourable, and probably the more lucrative, as it conferred the honour of presenting wine to the king from a golden cup, and the perquisite of retaining it, together with an ewer of the same metal. This point was so fiercely contested in the year 1269, that it occasioned Henry III. to lay aside his intention of wearing the crown, that he might avoid the necessity of determining this invidious question. But whether it was that the Wintonians, on this occasion, were determined to prove themselves better *subjects*, or better *corporation-men*, I leave the reader to judge for himself from the following passage I have extracted out of the Annales Wigornienses.

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"Anno 1269..... S. Edvardus a veteri feretro in novum translatus est presente Domino Henrico rege, qui secundum edictum suum coronam portare disposuit, sed non portavit. Unde vindicantibus sibi jus et consuetudinem de pincernaria Wintoniæ et Londoniæ civibus, noluit dom. rex ut quis eorum serviret propter discordiam et periculum quod posset imminère, sed jussit utramque partem discumbere. Unde Londonienses indignantes recesserunt; Wintonienses remanserunt comedentes et bibentes in curia, et cum licentia dom. regis recedentes remearunt ad propria."

Yours, &c.

1788, *Nov.* J. MILNER.

CX. Days of Public Commemoration, when and why instituted.

Mr. URBAN, *Nov.* 17.

THE most numerous classes of people in every nation are destined to lead a life of activity. Their daily wants, whether natural or artificial, demand frequent gratification; and an adequate supply of necessary sustenance can be procured for the generality by labour only. Amidst the constant succession of new engagements which occupy the man of laborious business, there can be found little leisure for recollecting past events not immediately connected with his domestic concerns; there can be expected neither inclination nor ability for speculating on the effects derived from causes long ago antecedent. Should there happen then occurrences of a public nature, the remembrance of which it may be important to preserve, the attention of the people must at stated periods be recalled to those circumstances, by some external, visible, perceptible tokens; that so, by repeated appeal made to the most powerful of the senses, an impression may be wrought on their minds, and a combination of certain ideas, corresponding with those tokens, may habitually be formed, and strongly operate to the purpose of the institutor.

Upon some principles of reasoning similar to these, and founded on experience, the chiefs of all clans, and legislators of all countries, have wisely instituted days of commemoration; that so, by connecting the expectation either of rest from common pursuits, or of festive hilarity, or of

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solemn ceremony, with certain seasons, they might render either the celebration of the festival, or the observance of the solemnity, habitual; and might thus perpetuate, through succeeding generations, the names of public benefactors, and tradition of public events.

To the kings of the ancient Scythians, who are now the Tartars, were entrusted a plough, a yoke, axe, and bowl, all made of gold, which were said to have fallen from heaven, and were to be preserved with the most religious care. An annual sacrifice was offered to these implements, as they were deemed celestial: and at this ceremony the kings were obliged to assist. The origin of this anniversary arose, no doubt, from the policy of Lipoxais, Arpaxais, and Colaxais, who intended thereby to commemorate the first introduction of husbandry, and to render agriculture an employment honourable and almost sacred. (See Herodot. lib. 4, 5.) With the same view did the king of the Persians partake of a feast with the husbandmen one day in the year; and the custom is still continued, that the Emperor of China, on a particular festival, should hold a plough, and till some few furrows.

To the followers of Mahomet it is thus ordained: "The month of Ramadan shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from heaven." (Sale's K. vol. I. p. 33.) To which fast succeeds the first of their *beirâms*, or principal feasts; and this "is observed in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Constantinople, and in other parts of Turkey; and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people at least, with great demonstrations of public joy, to make amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month." (Sale's Pref. Disc.)

The inhabitants of Aleppo are said to retain even yet some traces of the solemnities observed in honour of Adonis. Many have conjectured, that the name of Adonis, and the rites practised first in lamenting the loss, and then in rejoicing for the recovery of him, are merely symbolical emblems, either of the sun's course, or of the manner in which the fruits of the earth are first buried, and then shoot forth again. But it is more probable, that this object of worship among the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, whether he be called Adonis, Osiris, or Bacchus, was some real personage, whose introduction of luxurious improvements among uncivilised people procured him a superstitious regard when living, and an annual commemoration after his decease, though the real cause of his death be veiled in fable:

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— — Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded : &c.

Paradise Lost, b. I. 446.

Newton has very properly illustrated this passage by the account which Maundrel gives of the bloody colour that appears annually in the river anciently named Adonis, but now called Ibraham Basa. It escaped his memory to observe, that the ΣΥΡΑΚΟΥΣΙΑΙ of Theocritus contains a representation of the pomp and show with which the Ἀδώνια were celebrated. The reader may consult the note on v. 113 of the Syracusæ, in Warton's edition, a work of much critical and philological merit.

Of all institutions ancient or modern, that which is observed by the native Americans, among some tribes on every tenth year, and among others on every eighth, is the most extraordinary. It is called the Feast of the Dead, or the Feast of Souls. On this occasion there is first a disinterment of all who have died since the last solemnity: the dust of some is collected, the corrupt bodies of others are cleansed: the corpses are carried by their respective friends to their huts, where, in honour of the deceased, a feast is prepared, at which their exploits are celebrated, and all their kind and good offices are affectionately remembered. A general interment of the remains then ensues, and one grave is the receptacle in which all are deposited. A more awful and striking scene cannot be conceived. The Athenians had their funeral orations repeated annually in honour of those who were slain in battle: the Platæans kept a solemn anniversary, and their Archon poured out a goblet of wine to those who had sacrificed their lives for the liberty of Greece: (see Plut. Aristid.) And ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, or "Games for Liberty," were celebrated by delegates from each city of Greece at Platææ every fifth year, in commemoration of the heroes who had defeated Mardonius. These Grecian ceremonies perpetuated sentiments of respect for the deceased, and excited in the people a generous desire of emulating the glorious atchievements which had occasioned such solemnities; yet to the spectators they could not be so interesting as to the Americans is the Feast of Souls, wherein "bones

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hearsed in death" (Haml. Shaksp.) are presented to view; a sight that must raise the most vehement and frantic emotions in the undisciplined breast of artless savages.

Athenæus after Berosus, and the upright Alexander ab Alexandro after them, inform us that the Babylonians, every year, for five successive days, celebrated a feast, on which the slaves assumed authority over their masters, and one of them, who on this occasion was distinguished by a regal habit, was chosen to preside over the other domestics, and was called Ζωγανης, Zogana.—M. Goguet, indeed, (B. VI. c. ii. *n.*) says, "I would not, however, affirm, that the custom here spoken of had place in the ages now in question: It might have been only an imitation of the Saturnalia, and introduced among the Babylonians after the conquests of Alexander." But as the KPONIA were of very early institution, and celebrated at a period when probably the greater part of the customs existing in Greece were imported from the more oriental countries by the first planters of its colonies, it may with reason be concluded, that the Greeks were the imitators in this particular, and not the Babylonians. Macrobius cites the authority of L. Accius to prove the establishment of the Κρονια, or Saturnalia, among the Greeks, even before the foundation of Rome:

> Maxima pars Graiûm Saturno, et maxime Athenæ
> Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse iterantur ab illis:
> Eumque diem celebrant: per agros urbesque fere omnes
> Exercent epulas læti: famulosque procurant
> Quisque suos: nostrique itidem: et mos traditus illinc
> Iste, ut cum dominis famuli epulentur ibidem.
>
> MACR. Sat. i. 7.

These Κρονια continued so late as to the times of Lucian and A. Gellius. The latter of these authors tells us the pleasant and liberal manner in which the Roman students, who were at Athens, spent the Saturnalia: they discussed questions of poetry, criticism and philosophy; and to him, who best solved a difficulty proposed, was given a crown of laurel. A. Gell. N. A. l. 18. c. 2. Lucian has taken occasion from the Κρονια to write a Dialogue, a Code of Saturnalian Laws, and three Epistles. In the dialogue, Saturn speaks thus on the effects of gaming with dice: "From hence, many who have a lucky cast have gotten food to satiety. But others, on the contrary, when their vessel has been wrecked on a rock so small as a die, have swum out quite naked." In his Chrono-Solon, or Code of Saturnalian Laws, it is ordained,

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"Let there be perfect equality among slaves and free, among poor and rich. Let no one be permitted to be angry, or to express dissatisfaction, or to menace. The day before the feast, let some purifying sacrifice be carried round (by the rich), and let them banish from their houses, meanness, avarice, covetousness, and whatever similar vices cohabit with the generality of them." In the second Saturnalian Epistle, to the poor, who had complained of that inequality with which wealth and its appendages are distributed, in consolation it is replied, "Upon the whole, be assured you poor are deceived, and judge not rightly respecting the rich, if you think they are completely happy, and that they only lead a pleasant life—if you knew the fears and anxieties they experience, you would determine to avoid wealth." The third epistle exhorts the rich to a more humane treatment of the poor, and for this sensible and cogent reason, "You cannot inhabit cities, or govern states, unless the poor make part of your body politic, and if they contribute not to your happiness in a ten thousand instances." It were to be wished that this satirist had always mixed with his raillery instruction equally salutary with this suggested by the Κρονια.

There was among the Greeks another festival of a similar nature, as to the relaxation which was allowed slaves. The festival of Ανθεστηρια was held at Athens for three days, in the month Anthesterion; which, according to Gaza's computation, answers to the latter end of our November, and beginning of December. This was a season of licentiousness and ebriety to the slaves, over whom there was no controul, till, at the expiration of the three days, proclamation was made,

Θυραζε κηρες, ουκ ετ' Ανθεστηρια.

Slaves get ye out, the Anthesteria are at an end.

See POTTER and ERASM.

In imitation of the Κρονια were instituted the Saturnalia at Rome by Numa Pompilius, whom Plutarch therefore affirms Ελληνικωτερον γεγονεναι Νομοθετην "to have been a more humane legislator" than Lycurgus. The Roman law-giver was induced to adopt this festival, either from the equitable persuasion that those, who had laboured to procure the fruits of the earth, should annually enjoy a share of them; or else as a memorial of that equality which prevailed in Saturn's reign, when there was no such distinction as that of master and servant, but all were deemed equal and related. (See Plut. Num. et Lycurg.) The "Libertas Decembris" is well known to every reader of Horace. The delicate satirist,

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with his usual dexterity and address, takes occasion from the freedom of speech allowed his servant, to inculcate this general doctrine, "that all men are slaves, who are under the dominion of their vices; and that he only is free, who can command his appetites, and subdue his fears." The best comment on the satire to which allusion is here made (Sat. 7. l. 2.) occurs in Macrobius: *α.* "How comes it you behave with so great and so cruel disdain towards your slaves, as if they did not consist, and were not supported by the same elements as yourself, and as if they did not derive life from the same original cause? Will you recollect, that those whom you call your property are born of the same principles as yourself, enjoy alike the same sky, live and die alike! *β.* They are slaves. *α.* Nay; and men too. *β.* They are slaves. *α.* Nay; rather fellow slaves with yourself—a man is a slave, but it is through necessity, but it is with a mind free. *β.* He is a slave. *α.* This circumstance shall be allowed as a sufficient reason for injuring him, if you can shew me the man that is not a slave. One man is a slave to his lusts, another to avarice, a third to ambition, all to hope, and all to fear; and surely no slavery is baser than voluntary slavery. We trample too on the man, who lies under the yoke imposed by fortune, as on a being wretched and contemptible: yet the yoke which we bring on our own necks we cannot bear to hear censured. For my part, I shall value men, not according to their fortunate or unfortunate situation, but according to their morals. Every person is himself the author of his own morals; but, as for condition in life, that is the allotment of chance." Macrobius Saturn. b. I. c. 11.

This month of December gives to us also days of festivity: it will be well if we apply the time, which allows leisure from ordinary employment, rather to the cultivation of useful knowledge and moral improvement, than to intemperate indulgence in vicious pleasures. After all that has been done to reclaim us from the practice and guilt of sin, we shall be surely inexcusable if we are not at least equally wise, humane, and moderate, as the best of the heathens.

1788, *Dec.* O. S. T.

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CXI. Origin of the Gibbet.

MR. URBAN, *Whittington, Feb. 28.*

HAVING heard it asserted in conversation, that our laws knew nothing of the *gibbet*, but that it was left to the discretion of the judges to set the ignominious mark of *hanging in irons* upon the more egregious criminals, with the intention of making a terrific example unto others; I, who am no lawman, had nothing to alledge to the contrary. The assertion, however, of which I was not till then aware, awakened in my mind a desire of inquiring, as a matter of some curiosity, what our old authors, the monkish historians, had delivered on the subject.

What I mean by *gibbeting* is, the hanging a notorious criminal in irons, as a public and lasting spectacle, after he has suffered death on the gallows, for the purpose of example, and of deterring others from the commission of the like heinous offences. A design truly benevolent and laudable.

The word *gibbet* is at present of very doubtful derivation. Stewechius* deduces it from the antiquated word *gabalus*, and Skinner† and Junius‡ concur with him. But this etymology appears to me so forced and unnatural, that, though I have nothing better to offer, I cannot approve it, but shall leave this matter in suspense. Gibbet is a French word, as well as an English one; and Mons. Menage§ declares himself uncertain whether the French borrowed it from the English, or the English from the French. For my part, I have no doubt but we had it from the French, the people of this nation seldom taking any thing from the English at so early a period as the 13th century, when, as we shall see hereafter, the gibbet was used here, and known currently by that name.

Martinius, the learned etymologist, observes, that this mark of the grossest infamy was not unknown to the ancients, and was called by the Greeks, Ἀναστανρώσις and Ἀνασκολόπισις. His words are, "Aliquando ἀναστανροῦν dicitur non de vivi hominis supplicio, sed de *cadavere*, aut *capite*, hominis, vel

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* Stewechius, ad Arnob. lib. VI. p. 205.

† Skinner indeed offers an alternative from *Cop*, *Apex*, and the diminutive *et*, which is equally inadmissible.

‡ Junii, Etymolog. v. *Gallows*.

§ Menage, Orig. Franc. in v.

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decollati, vel alio supplicio extincti. Id fiebat ignominiæ causa." So again, of Ἀνασκολοπιζισθαι, he says, "Id intelligendum est, non de supplicio, quo vita adimebatur percussori, sed de pœna, quæ ei, qui jam gladio necatus erat, ignominiæ amplioris causa irrogabatur, ut ad paucas horas (nempe ad partem diei post supplicium) insuper suspenderetur, et soli atque hominum oculis exponeretur*." Of this exposition here spoken of, as intended for infamy and disgrace, we have a very remarkable and apposite instance in the case of the King of Ai, Josh. viii. 29: "And the King of Ai he hanged on a tree until even tide; and as soon as the sun was down, Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree," &c.; where see Bp. Patrick, as also his Comment on Numb. xxv. 4, and Deut. xxi. 22. It was for the same purpose, I presume, of reflecting shame and ignominy on delinquents, that their quarters were formerly sent, in England, unto distant cities, and their heads put up on high, at the Tower, Temple Bar, and London Bridge,

But these ancient modes of treating and disgracing great criminals, for the terror of their survivors, not being the subject of the present investigation, I shall pursue them no farther, but turn to the practice of more modern times, and particularly of our own nation.

Annal. Dunstap. A. D. 1223. p. 130. The King orders *gibbetum grandem præparari:* where the *gibbet* only means a *gallows.*

Matthew Paris, A. D. 1239. p. 490. A person, *ignominiose super machinam illam pœnalem, quæ* gibet *appellatur, extra Londinum traditur suspendio.* This also appears to be no more than a plain gallows.

Matthew Paris, A. D. 1242, p. 584. William de Marisco, a knight, was judicially condemned, and ignominiously put to death. He was brought from the Tower "to that penal machine vulgarly called *a gibbet*;" and after he had breathed his last, was hung on one of the *hooks* [uncorum], and being taken down after he was grown stiff, was bowelled: his bowels were burnt, and his body being divided into four parts, the quarters were sent *in terrorem,* to four cities. This evidently answers to our hanging, *drawing,* and *quartering,* and has the intention of exhibiting a terrible spectacle to the people, just as our hanging a dead body in irons is meant to do. But it varies much, you observe, from gib-

* Martinii Etymolog. v. *Suspendo.*

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beting; the gibbet in this case, as in the two former, serving only as a common gallows, to deprive the party of life.

Matthew Paris, A.D. 1236, p. 432, speaking of the execution of two men, says, "paratum ex horribile [read *paratum* est *horribile*] patibulum Londoniis quod vulgus *gibetum* appellat." One of them, *after he was dead*, was hung upon a *gibbet*, and the other was gibbeted alive, to perish, as we may suppose, both by pain and hunger. These cases seem to come up fully to the point in hand, as the body of the first was put upon the gibbet when dead, in order to be a permanent spectacle of terror; and the other was not to die, as probably being the most guilty, by the mere and simple act of suspension, but by a more lingering, cruel, and terrible kind of death. It is remarkable that the historian uses the word *horribile* on the occasion, which he forbore to do in his two former instances, as if he intended to express something here of a nature uncommonly shocking and terrifying.

The word *gibbet*, Sir, I have observed above, is French as well as English; and therefore it may be proper to inquire how matters were carried, in respect to the gibbet in France. Now in Matthew Paris, A.D. 1248. p. 747, the King of France ordered all clippers of the coin, *patibulis laqueatos, vento præsentari*, that is, to be hanged, and then exposed to the wind; which, though irons be not mentioned, appears to be the very thing we English do now, and to have the same intention.

Du Fresne cites these words from the Chronicon Flandriæ, c. 86: "Et le feit le Roy Phillipe decoler a Paris sur un eschaffaut, et feit le corps pendre au gibet de Montfaucon." There were six kings of France of the name of Philip, and the last of them reigned from A. D. 1328 to A. D. 1350; but the passage may relate to one of the former, and probably does.

It appears, upon the whole, that gibbeting was used in this country as early as A. D. 1236, in the reign of King Henry III. and that in all probability we derived the custom from our neighbours the French.

1789, *March.* SAM. PEGGE.

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CXII. Bull and Gate, Bull and Mouth, Bear and Ragged Staff.

Mr. URBAN, *March* 15.

ON the 26th of August, 1783, on a tour into Kent, I visited the antient family mansion of Hardres, near Canterbury, and among a variety of relics which were shewn to me as an attestation of its departed splendor, I was particularly delighted with the sight of a warlike trophy, which the first founder of that family, Sir William Hardres, received from Henry VIII. as an honorary gratuity for his valour at the siege of Boulogne. It was one of the gates of that town, composed of wood, with transverse braces, well studded with iron nails, and a small wicket door connected to it. When I saw it, it stood in the coach-house, by the side of the tattered remains of the body of a very old family coach.

This Sir William Hardres, it should seem from the archives of that family, had received from King Henry the domains on which the mansion was erected, in testimony of his services, perhaps at the above siege, which had continued in succession to the heirs of that family until the time when I visited it; which happened to be at the critical time, when all the old and original furniture, consisting of pictures, chairs, bedsteads, books, &c. were parceled out for an auction—the *Gate of Boulogne* was also to be included in the sale; but by whom it was purchased, or where it is deposited, I am now left to find out.

As one of your correspondents appears to be at a loss to account for the origin of the sign of the *Bull* and *Gate*, it is probable that he will now perceive that the modern sign is a vulgar etymon of the *Boulogne Gate*, above described; which, having served to commemorate an action which King Henry VIII. seemed by history to have taken some pains to accomplish, and therefore rendered popular, was made the subject of a sign. Thus the *Bull* and *Mouth* is a vulgar corruption of the *Boulogne Mouth*, or the entrance into the harbour of Boulogne. In like manner, the celebrated corruption of a sign at Chelsea, near the water side, which should represent a groupe of *Bacchanals* dancing, and now ridiculously metamorphosed into the *Bag of Nails*.

If these kind of curious inquiries engage the attention of your correspondents, it may not be unacceptable perhaps to suggest a hint for the origin of the sign of the *Bear* and *Ragged Staff*.

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In perusing the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, I found the following passage. "I was," he said, "invited by Monsieur de Vancler, to dine with him when I was at Calais; where I found him well attended, with a *Ragged Staff* of gold upon his bonnet, which was the device of the Earl of Warwick; the rest of the guests had the same device of *Ragged Staffs*; but they who could not have them of gold, had them of cloth." It was told me at dinner, "that within a quarter of an hour after the messenger was arrived from England with the news, that the whole town had got into his badge." See p. 162. the English edition.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the sign of the *Ragged Staff* derived its origin from the arms of the Earl of Warwick, who was eternized in the dispute of the houses of York and Lancaster. The bear prefixed to it is doubtless of the same kind of origin; but as I have no book of heraldry immediately at hand to turn to for the application of a device to any of the Earl's followers, I shall leave this investigation for the attention of any other curious correspondent in these kind of researches.

Yours, &c.

1789, *March.* J. D.

CXIII. A Passage in Domesday illustrated.

Mr. URBAN, *Feb.* 27.

AS the following article is not inconsistent with the plan of your Monthly Collection, and may be matter of curiosity at least, if not of use, to some of your antiquarian correspondents, you may communicate it to them, if you think proper, in your next Magazine.

It is noted in Domesday Book, under the article of Kingston upon Thames, that "Humfrid the chamberlain (tenant of the Queen's fee at Cumbe in that parish) had one of the King's villans of that maner under his direction, *causa coadunandi lanam Reginæ.*"

In another ancient record*, we find that King Henry I. gave Cumbe to the family of Postel, who held it by the same tenure, viz. "per serjentiam *colligendi lanam Reginæ.*" And lastly, that, in 39 Henry III. Peter Baldwin held it†;

* Testa de Nevil. † Plac. Coron. 39 Hen. III. rot. 31.

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whose son Peter also died seised of it in 27 Edward I.* having both holden it in like manner, "*per serjentiam colligendi lanam Reginæ;*" to which is added, in the former of these two, "per alba***."

Blount, in his Antient Tenures, p. 79, in order to supply this blank in a place where he confesses that the record was illegible, and that he only does it by guess, puts in the word *spinas*, and then gives this account of the tenure, viz. that the Queen's tenant here held this little manor by the service of "going a wool-gathering for the Queen among the *thorns* and *briers*." And the author of a treatise lately published, called, "*Domesday* Book illustrated," p. 175, follows Blount, without any other explanation of him, than by translating the words *coadunandi lanam Reginæ*, "winding, or mixing, or working up the Queen's wool with other wool, or, gathering wool for the Queen."

Now, the truth is, that "the original revenue of our ancient queens, before and soon after the Conquest, consisted in certain reservations or rents out of the demesne lands of the crown, which were expressly appropriated to her Majesty, distinct from the King. It is frequent, in Domesday Book, after specifying the rent due to the crown, to add likewise the quantity of gold, or *other* renders, reserved to the queen. These were frequently appropriated to particular purposes; to buy *wool* for her majesty's use, to purchase *oil* for her lamps, or to furnish her *attire* from head to foot.†"

This manor of Cumbe then was plainly one of those "*reservations* or *rents* out of the demesne lands of the crown," spoken of by Blackstone, as "*expressly appropriated* to the queen's use;" and, in the present instance, for the first of the purposes there mentioned, viz. "for buying *wool* for her majesty's use." Humfrid the chamberlain, who farmed this manor of the queen, by the service of *co-adunating*, i. e. getting together this wool, might possibly pay it in kind, collecting their respective portions of the several under-tenants. In succeeding times, however, particularly when Postel, and afterwards Baldwin, farmed this manor, the wool-rent was compounded for by the payment of 20s. a year in *silver* at the Exchequer; and a rent paid in *silver* was always called *alba firma*. The blank, therefore, in the

* Esch. 27. E. I. n. 27.

† Blackstone's Comm. vol. I. p. 221, and the authorities there cited, among which is the very article in question.

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abovementioned record of 39 Henry III. is undoubtedly to be filled up with the word *firmam*, whereby the whole will be rendered perfectly intelligible, viz. that Peter Baldwin held the serjeanty in Cumbe by collecting the queen's wool (not "per *albas spinas*," off the *thorns* and *briers* of the manor, but) "per *albam firmam*," i. e. by compositions in *silver*, to be paid by the respective under-tenants, to the amount of 20s a year—or, whether he did or not, should at least pay that sum annually himself for the same at the Treasury.

1789, *March.* PALÆOPHILUS SURR.

CXIV. Meretrices.—An ancient Tenure investigated and explained.

Mr. URBAN, *April* 3.

IN the Gentleman's Magazine for 1773, it is said that, "among other strange customs in England, there is one, that, whenever the King comes to Lothesley manor, near Guildford, the Lord is to present his Majesty with *three* WHORES."

A correspondent in some measure rectifies the mistake, by informing us that, "instead of Lothesley, it was the manor of Catteshill that was meant;" and that this manor "was holden by the service of being marshal of the MERETRICES when the King came that way; that it is well known that MERETRIX, in later Latin writers, is equivalent to *lavatrix*, or *lotrix*; and, therefore, that these *twelve young women* (for such, as he observes, are they called, and such is their number said to have been by Blount, in his account of Antient Tenures, p. 80), were to follow the court in the capacity of *laundresses*, to be furnished by the Lord of the manor of Catteshill."

Another correspondent carries the custom back again to Lothesley, which, he tells us, "was holden in grand serjeanty by the master of the King's MERETRICES, i. e. (says he) *laundresses*." Perhaps a more full and accurate account of this matter may not be unacceptable.

You are to understand then, Mr. Urban, that, from the accession of King Henry II. our kings had a mansion house and park at Guildford, where they occasionally resided and kept their court; during which time, certain of the inferior offices of the household were supplied by the tenants of two different estates holden of the crown in this neighbourhood.

1. One of these was what is now called the manor of

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Poyle, in Guildford; which had been given, in earlier times, to the family of Testard. During the minority of William, an heir of this family, in the time of Henry II. the wardship of him and his estate was given to one Ranulph de Broc, from whom it descended to Edeline his daughter, who held it *per serjantiam mareschalli in curia domini regis**. Stephen de Turnham, who married her succeeded to the trust, and held it by the same service†. To this William, who died in 14 Henry III. anno 1230, succeeded Robert his son, who is described as holding it, in 19 Henry III. 1235, *per serjantiam custodiendi* MERETRICES *in curia domini regis*‡. Thomas succeeded to the inheritance; and, after him, Richard his brother; in the account of whose serjeanty it is set forth, as a part of his office of *mareschal*, that he was *servare* LOTRICES *curiæ domini regis*§. About this time Richard sold this estate to Thomas de la Puille, or Poyle (from whom it took its present name, and) who held it by the same service‖: and in his family it continued till 9 Hen. V. But this whimsical tenure having, before this, been converted into knight's service, we hear no more of it after the 11th Edward II. or thereabouts.

2. The other estate, holden by this tenure, was the manor of CATTESHILL in Godelming, distant about four miles from the court of Guildford. Ranulph de Broc, already spoken of as guardian of the heir of Testard, had a grant of this manor, from King Henry II. to hold by the service of *ostiarius in camera domini regis*¶. Edeline his daughter, and Stephen de Turnham, her husband, held it by the same service**. Robert de Gatton, who married a granddaughter and co-heir of Stephen's, is called *mareschallus custodiendo* MERETRICES *de curia domini regis*††; and *mareschallus duodecim* PUELLARUM *quæ sequuntur curiam domini regis*‡‡. Hamo de Gatton, his son and heir, *mareschallus* MERETRICUM *cum dominus rex venerit in illis partibus*§§; and *ostiarius cameræ regis*‖‖. Hamo, the younger, *mareschallus*

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* Test. de Nev. in Esch.
† Test. de Nev.
‡ Blount, p. 8. Plac. Cor. Surr. 19. H. III.
§ Blount, p. 79. Plac. Cor. 39. H. III.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Test. de Nevil.
** Ibid.
†† Plac. Cor. 25. H. III.
‡‡ Blount, p. 80.
§§ Blount, 82. Plac. Cor. 7. E. I.
‖‖ Esch. 20. E. I. n. 25.

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de COMMUNIBUS FŒMINIS *sequentibus hospitium domini regis**. Robert de Northwode, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of the last Hamo, and died seised of this manor in 34 Edward III. anno 1360, is stiled *ostiarius in camera regis*†. Joan and Agnes, daughters, and, at length heirs of Robert, on a partition made between them in 37 Edward III. are said to have holden by the service of *mareschallus in hospitio regis*‡. After which we hear no more of it, except that Nicholas Hering, who married Agnes, claimed, in her right, the office of *usher (ostiarius)* of the King's chamber at the coronation of Richard II. but the consideration thereof was postponed.

What we collect from all this is, that the office of *marshal* of the King's household, as often as the court resides at Guildford, was executed by the Lords of the manors of Poyle and Catteshill, who held their lands by this tenure; and that, though they are respectively stiled, in different records, *marshal* of the King's *court*, *marshal* of the King's *household*, and *ostiarius*, or *usher* of the King's *chamber*, their office was one and the same; it being part of the office of *marshal*, by himself or deputy, to keep the *door* of the King's *chamber*.§. We learn, moreover, that it was part of their duty (as often as the King came into these parts, not otherwise therefore) to provide *women*-servants for the meaner offices of the household; and that these *women*-servants were, on different occasions, called by different names, and, amongst the rest, by that of MERETRICES; which last hath given occasion, it seems, to ludicrous reflections on the court of that time, as if the grants of the Prince had been made subservient to his pleasures. Whereas, in truth, the word MERETRICES was here used in an indifferent sense; and, agreeably to the known import of the word *mereo* or *mereor*, from which it is derived, as a general description of such women as *served for hire*, and who, in the present instance, are accordingly called, in the different records, *puellæ*, *communes fœminæ*, and *lotrices*: the service here spoken of being, after all, no other than this, viz. that, whereas the court, in those days, was frequently removed to Guildford, certain persons, who held immediately of the King in that neighbourhood, were obliged, by the terms of their respec-

* Esch. 29. E. I. n. 58.
† Esch. 34. E. III. n. 72.
‡ Rot. Commun.
§ Spelm. Gloss. Madox, Excheq. c. 2, § 5.

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tive grants, to provide, as often as this should happen, a certain number of *female* servants for the *laundry*, and other inferior offices of the household.

The manor of Shirefield in Hampshire, was holden *temp.* Ed. II. and III. by John de Warbleton, by the same serjeanty; and probably with a view to the occasional residence of the court at Odiham, in its neighbourhood.

Yours, &c.

1789, *April.* PAL. SURR.

CXV. Sea Coal, or Pit Coal, when first used in this Kingdom.

MR. URBAN, *July* 25.

THE much-applauded History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, by the Rev. John Brand, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, London, is not come to hand yet; but I learn from your Review (and I give the Reviewer perfect credit for his commendation of the work in general), that, in the second volume, there is a history "of the coal-trade, from the first mention of coal in Britain, to the present time," p. 533; and the note there, collected I presume from the author, is, "sea-coal first occurs in records of the time of Henry III." But this, Sir, as I apprehend, should not go down thus to posterity, as it intimates that sea-coal*, or pit-coal, or *lithanthraces*†, for they are all the same, was not known in our island till the time here mentioned, which, in my opinion, is by no means strictly true.

The island at first was extremely woody, and afforded fuel of that kind, no doubt, in great abundance; but, nevertheless, there appears to have been *some* pit-coal gotten here *very early;* however, long before the reign of Henry III. as I shall now shew, after previously observing, that it is not my meaning to contend that pit-coal was in *general* use in the times I shall speak of, but only that it was then known and *mentioned* on certain occasions. It was needful, Sir, to make this remark, in order to prevent any objection that might be made by the reader upon this head.

There is a remarkable passage in Solinus, who flourished

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* Junius, in his Etymologicum Anglic. writes the word *cole;* and indeed it is pity the letter *a* ever got into it, as it is undoubtedly the *Sax.* Col. or Call.

† Camden, vol. III. p. 234. edit. Gough.

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at least before St. Jerome, which in all reason ought to be interpreted of pit-coal. Speaking of warm, and probably of medicinal, springs in Britain, he says, "quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cujus æde perpetuo ignes nunquam canescunt* in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertitur in globos saxeos†." These *globi saxei* can be nothing else but the cinders of pit-coal, for *favillæ* or *residuum* of wood or turf have nothing of the stony or hard matter in them. Bishop Gibson renders it accordingly. *round pieces of hard stone*, and Mr. Gough, *stone balls*. It is observable, that pit-coal itself is commonly translated in Latin by *carbo saxeus;* and we all know that Bath in Somersetshire, the place particularly intended by the author, has much fossile coal not far distant from it.

Bishop Watson, in his Chemical Essays, II. p. 364, observes, "we have good reason to believe that the Newcastle coal-pits were wrought in the time of the Romans, for coal cinders have been found at the bottom of the foundation of a city built by the Romans in that country‡; but whether they were not wrought by the Britons, before the Roman invasion, is a question which cannot, perhaps, be possibly decided either way." It signifies nothing, Sir, in the present case, which nation sunk the pits, since the consequence will be the same, viz. that pit-coal was known in our island, in some parts, and in some degree, before the reign of Henry III. And moreover, that the Romans in particular were not more strangers to British pit-coal than they were to British lead, will appear by consulting Dr. Stukeley's Itin. II. p. 54 of second edition; Mr. Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, p. 55; and Bishop Watson, II. p. 362, 368.

In *Venerable Bede's* time, who died A. D. 755, Britain produced gagates, or peat§, which by Camden is thought may be *canole coal*‖; but this, I think, could scarcely be used for fuel, though it seems it was plentiful. Be this as it will, the abbot and convent of Peterborough¶ demised to Wulfred, A. D. 852, the land of Sempilgaham** for his life, on

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* The various reading in H. Steph. edit. 1577, is *cassescunt;* and Ric. Coria. transcribing this passage, p. 19, has *labascunt.*

† Solinus, cap. 25.

‡ Wallis, Hist. of Northumberland.

§ Beda, Hist Eccles. I. cap. 1.

‖ Vol. III. p. 103, ed. Gough. Some think this to be a corruption of *candle* coal, it lights or kindles so easily.

¶ Chron. Sax. An. 852.

** Rob. Swapham. p. 106, writes *Semplingham*, or *Sempringham.*

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certain conditions, whereof two are, to pay annually 60 cart loads of wood, and 12 cart loads of *fossile coals*, for so the learned interpreter renders the word *græfan*. This, however, is something extraordinary, as there were no coal mines at Sempringham com. Linc. which is supposed to be the place intended*. But perhaps it may mean peat, or turf, which is *graven* or dug as well as pit-coal; I, therefore, shall lay no great stress on this authority, but shall leave it with you, Sir, and the intelligent reader.

Yours, &c.

1789, *Aug.* L. E.

CXVI. Gild of Calendaries at Bristol.—The Rolls Chapel.

MR. URBAN, *Nov.* 7.

MR. Barrett, in his newly-published "History of Bristol," speaking of the *Calendaries*, who formed a gild in that city so early as Robert Earl of Gloucester, Robert Fitz Harding, &c. (Tanner's Not. Mon. p. 479, Leland Itin. VII. 71), says, p. 449, "it appears, from records, that they were a society of religious and laity, like a college *de propaganda fide*, wherein Jews and other infidels were converted, youth instructed, and liberally maintained, in the same manner, and under the like direction, as at the Rolls in Chancery-lane, London; and as the custody of the Rolls was committed to the latter, so the former preserved the archives of the town of Bristol, whence they were called *the fraternity of the Kalendars*, from keeping a *kalendar*, or monthly register of all the public acts, registering deeds, rolls, &c. as that of London took the *Rolls*, both implying the same office of chroniclers, or public registers, of which no great cities were destitute."

Du Cange, in his Glossary, v. *Fratres Kalendarii*, says, "Nomen a *kalendis* sortiti quod modum ordinemque festorum quæ singulis mensibus celebranda forent, quæ anniversaria recolenda, quæ eleemosynæ distribuendæ, quæ jejunia servanda 1ma cuiuslibet mensis die indicarent." They occur in the foundation charter of Ottenburg in Marten. Collect. I. 1219. See also Paulinus' Chron. Monast. Ottenburgensis init.

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* See Gibson, in Expl. Nom. Loc.

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Of the religious object of this gild Mr. B. brings proofs from a Latin deed in the little Red Book, in the chamber of Bristol, by him *translated;* an inquisition into their rights, 1318; but the *library* mentioned in a settlement of their disputes with the mayor by the Bishop of Worcester, 1464, to be then *newly founded*, is not described as containing any thing more than *books*. It was indeed a *public* library, and a weekly lecture was given in it to all who chose to come: but not a word of the public records being there kept. This is inferred from one of the fraternity having been town-clerk in the reign of Edward IV. and having left several records of the city affairs, &c. and from Leland's quoting "a remembraunce of memorable actes done in Brighstowe, out of a litle boke of the antiquities of the house of Calendaries in Brighstowe," It. VII. 71. Leland expressly says this was nothing more nor less than "a gylde or fraternitie of the clergie and commonaltie of Brighstowe, kept in the church of the Trinitie, seen at Al Halowes." William of Worcester, the Bristol Antiquary, calls it a college of priests, p. 190, and, in p. 253, a college or fraternity founded in honour of the festival of Corpus Christi. Mr. Barrett's inference, therefore, is drawn from the *eight hundredthe* bookes mentioned by Rowley.

This is just such a proof as it would be to say, that because Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Alban's, wrote a History of England, therefore the monks of St. Alban's were the historians of England.

As to the *Domus Conversorum*, founded by Henry III. and now called *The Rolls*, it was not till after the expulsion of the Jews in 1377 had lessened the number of converts, that the chapel was applied to the purpose of keeping the rolls and records in chancery, and the mastership of this house was annexed to the office of keeper of the rolls of chancery, who is since called Master of the Rolls. Stowe's Survey of London, p. 435; Tanner's Not. Mon. pp. 314, 315. It is easy to see, therefore, that, as the original destination of the house was for a very different purpose, so the rolls were only lodged in its chapel as in any other public office.

1789, *Nov.* D. H.

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CXVII. Public Libraries in London about the end of the Seventeenth Century.

Mr. URBAN, *July* 20.

SOME remarks having lately fallen into my hands, among other MS. papers, relative to the former state of London, I have selected the following on the subject of public libraries, as they stood about the beginning of the present century, whereby some of your correspondents may have an opportunity of observing and communicating to the public the different improvements that have since taken place in the literary repositories of this celebrated city.

First, of those in the Tower. In Wakefield Tower and the White Tower are vast numbers of records relating to monasteries, &c. several state-papers and private letters of foreign princes to the English court. The White Tower was originally a chapel of the palace, and is a very uncommon sort of a structure.

At Westminster, in the Exchequer, the records are in the keeping of the Lord Treasurer. Here are preserved the two Domesday books, one in folio, and one in quarto. Powel's Repertory of Records, in quarto, printed in 1631, contains a farther account of these books.

The Parliament Rolls are kept in an old stone tower in the Old Palace Yard, in Westminster; and the state papers, from the time of Henry VIII. to this time (about 1700), are kept in the fine built gate as you go through to the Cock-pit, and is called the paper office. It was built by Henry VIII. and is one of the most curious pieces of workmanship in Europe for the old flint-work; and it is reported that Sir Hans Holbein was the architect.

The papers mention Sir Robert Cotton's library, now so usefully displayed; therefore I shall pass over to the library deposited in the great cloister of the abbey. It was founded by Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Lincoln, who was a great promoter of learning in his day. He purchased most of the books of the heirs of one Baker, of Highgate, and founded it for public use every day in term-time, from nine till twelve in the forenoon, and two till four in the afternoon. By negligence many of the MSS. were burnt; amongst which was the pompous and curious Book of the Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kings of England.

There was also a library at St. James's, mostly collected

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by Leland at the dissolution of abbeys, and intended for the studies of the princes of the blood. Our English kings had also several other libraries; as one at Whitehall, another at Hampton-court, at Nonesuch, Windsor, Oatland, Greenwich, &c.; but this at the palace of St. James seems to have been the chief. The keeping of it in the several king's reigns has been by Leland, Delayne, Traherne, Ascham, Patrick, Young, and Dr. Bentley. Most of the papers on this subject are interlarded with pieces of printed paper, carrying on the account in the following manner, and seem to have been intended for the press. Such as appeared worth while, I have detached, and arranged in chronological procession, as follows:

At Lambeth Palace, over the cloister, is a well-furnished library. The oldest of the books were the Lord Dudley's, Earl of Leicester; which from time to time have been augmented by several archbishops of that see. It had a great loss in being deprived of Archbishop Sheldon's, an admirable collection of Missals, Breviaries, Psalters, Primers, &c. relating to the service of the church; as also of Archbishop Sancroft's.

There was formerly a piece of ground taken in and walled, not far from St. James's, near Leicester Fields, by the procurement of Prince Henry, for the exercise of arms, which he much delighted in; and there was a house built at one end of it for an armory, and a well-furnished library of all sorts of books relating to feats of arms, chivalry, military affairs, encamping, fortification, the best that could be got of that kind, and in all languages, at the cost and charge of the prince, who had a learned librarian, whose name I have forgot. It was called the Artillery Ground, and continued till the Restoration of King Charles II. and then fell into the hands of the Lord Gerrard, who let the ground out to build on about the year 1677.

Gray's Inn had a library for the use of the students of that society, most of them relating to the laws and history of this kingdom.

In the church yard of St. Martin's in the Fields, Dr. Thomas Tenison, then rector, since Archbishop of Canterbury, built a noble structure, extremely well contrived for the placing of the books and lights. It was begun and finished in the year 168 . , and by him well furnished with the best modern books in most faculties, the best of its kind in England. There any student, of what country soever (first giving in his name and place of abode), may be admitted to study.

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Lincoln's Inn library was much augmented by Lord Chief Justice Hale, amongst which are many valuable MSS. of his own hand-writing.

The two Temples have each a library. Lord Chief Justice Coke, gave most (if not all) of his excellent MSS. of law and history to the Inner Temple. The Middle Temple is frequently resorted to; Walter Williams, Esq. is the present library keeper there.

In the Guildhall of the City of London, is the treasury of their records, charters, laws, privileges, acts of common council, their paper books in the Chamberlain's office; some are very antient, and most of them are in the custody of their town-clerk. There are great variety, and worthy the sight of the curious.

Sion College was founded by Dr. White, Vicar of St. Dunstan in the West; but most of their books were destroyed by the fire of 1666. The few that exist from that time were saved by the industry of the librarian. It has since been re-built, and is situate in London Wall. A catalogue of the books was taken some years ago, and printed in 4to. It is for the use of the London clergy, and is open at this day.

The library of St. Paul's school is another within the walls, and was founded by Dean Colet, and re-built by the Company of Mercers. It is at present supplied by contributions from the scholars and others; but, upon the whole is on the decay.

In the days of King Edward VI. in the chapel called the Lord Mayor's chapel, adjoining to the Guildhall, was a large library, all MSS; they were borrowed (with an intent never to be returned) by the Duke of Somerset, to furnish his study in his pompous house in the Strand. They are reported to be five cart loads. I mention this to inform my reader, that the city had then a public library, besides others that were within the walls, as at the Grey Friars in Newgate-street, now called Christ church; containing a great many MSS; to which Whittington was a benefactor, as by a gift of a Lyra, mentioned by Dr. Fuller.

In the Herald's office is a curious collection of books relating to heraldry, arms, ceremonies, coronations, marriages, funerals, christenings, and visitations, of several counties in England. Many of their best books were stolen during the civil wars; but they have been since furnished with others by the munificence of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. Vincent's collection, bought, and presented by Mr. Sheldon, of Weston, in Warwickshire. They have an antient Nennius on vellum, and Robert of Gloucester, an

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old rhymer, who lived in the days of King Edward III; it is a chronicle of England from its first inhabiting to his time, and the only antient copy we have in England. It were to be wished they had all the French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Flemish books, on the like subjects. Their books are kept in cupboards with shutters, or doors locked up very neatly. Several particular persons belonging to the office have good collections. Mr. Gore printed a catalogue at Oxford, in quarto, of all their books relating to heraldry and antiquities. The books in the Prerogative-office are too well known to be mentioned here, and their utility too obvious to be pointed out.

The White Friars spared no cost to procure books, and their collection must be large and choice. Bale, one of their fraternity, saith, that no book was to be sold but they had their emissaries to buy it. The Carmelites engrossed all the books they could lay their hands on; and it is probable all other orders did the like; so that a layman, though he had both money and learning, had but very few fall into his hands; so that books and learning were seldom to be found out of a monastery.

Since the demolition of Gresham College, the books have not been so fairly displayed as they were when this survey seems to have been taken. However, as some other correspondent can better represent their present state, we shall pass over to

The College of Physicians, in Warwick-lane, who have a numerous collection, among which are Mr. Selden's books, with the library of the Marquis of Doncaster, and others of their members, left them in remembrance.

Christ-church, formerly the Grey Friars, hath a neat library for the use of the masters and scholars, besides a collection of mathematical instruments, globes, ships, with all their rigging, for the instruction of the lads designed for the sea; and in their counting-house is the picture of Edward VI. their founder, by Hans Holbein; and in the great hall a noble representation of King James II. sitting on his throne, with most of the nobility, privy council, chancellor, governors, lord mayor and aldermen of the city, the officers of the house, boys and girls on their knees, &c. all done from the life, by the famous Signior Verrio.

The Dutch and Flemish merchants have a church in Austin Friars, for which Edward VI. granted a patent. They have a neat library for the use of foreign Protestants, and their clergy, containing many original letters in MS. never yet printed, of the first Reformers. The Ten Commandments

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there are said to be written by the hand of Sir Peter Paul Reubens.

The French church in Threadneedle-street, granted also by patent in the reign of Edward VI. had a library before the Fire of London; and Minshew mentions them to have subscribed to his Dictionary. What remains of this original collection, with the libraries of some of their divines, and other literary gifts, are now deposited in the vestry of the new French church, belonging to the same congregation, meeting at the corner of Church-street, in Brick-lane, Spital-fields.

Dulwich College, erected by John Alleyn, who formerly had been a strolling player. There is a library, in which is a collection of plays given by Mr. Cartwright, who was bred a bookseller, and kept a shop at the end of Turnstile-alley, which was at first designed for a change for the vending of Welsh frizes, flannels, &c. as is still visible to be seen by the left side as you go from Lincoln's Inn Fields, which is now divided; it is turned with arches. Cartwright was an excellent player, and, besides his plays, gave them many excellent pictures. I have seen there a View of London, taken by Mr. Norden in 1603; on the bottom is the view of my lord mayor's show. I never saw another of them.

The Jews, in Bevis Marks, had a library of considerable value in their synagogue, relating to their ceremonials and Talmudical worship; but some narrow minds among them conceiving that, if these books should get into the hands of Christians, they would be disgraced by shameful translations, agreed among themselves to cause them to be burnt; for which purpose they employed some of their scribes, or tephilim writers, to examine into the correctness of the copies; and receiving a report agreeable to their wishes, they had them conveyed to Mile End, where they were all destroyed in a kiln; for it is contrary to their maxim ever to make waste paper of the Sacred Language.

The Barber-surgeons have made a collection of books relating to anatomy, which is in their hall in Monkwell-street. There is the picture of King Henry VIII. giving the charter to the masters, wardens, and assistants, and sitting on his throne. It was painted by Hans Holbein, and is an admirable piece.

William Petyt, of the Inner Temple, Esq. Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, who died in 1707, left by his last will and testament a most valuable collection of MSS. and printed books to the society of which he was a member, as also 150l. for erecting a room for depositing them in;

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and they have built a very curious room adjoining to their hall, which is almost finished. This collection consists of many great curiosities in antiquity, history and parliamentary affairs; and it is hoped that public generosity will improve this noble beginning; it would soon be a very compleat library, if every member of that honourable society would only present one book every year.

Books sold by auction by good catalogues, and classical arrangements of great libraries, which have been published from time to time, have disseminated more biographical knowledge, and served the general cause of letters much better,, than all the enormous collections avariciously withheld in the monasteries and convents of our Gothic ancestors. However, we must thank them for preserving, at least, the seeds of that knowledge which so brightly distinguishes the present period,

1790, *July.* HENRY LEMOINE.

CXVIII. Curiosities in London at the end of the Seventeenth Century.

MR. URBAN, *Sep.* 13.

IF you do not deem the following desultory remarks on the antient state of London an intrusion upon more important matter, the transcriber will, and some of your readers may, thank you for their insertion. *Minutiæ*, though in themselves trifling, afford pleasure, and are of some importance, when we consider that we are often more affected by small and imperceptible objects, than by such as by their magnitude ingross our whole attention for a while.

Yours, &c.

HENRY LEMOINE.

When Henry VIII. took possession of York Palace, finished by Cardinal Wolsey, he left the new palace at Westminster, but first he made it a city by act of parliament. He also built the Cock-pit and the Tennis-court; cock-fighting being only used in England; but tennis was a diversion introduced from France about the time of Henry V. To beautify this new palace of Whitehall, he built the gateway next the Banqueting-house, to have the convenience of a gallery into the Park, to see the sport of tilts and tournaments, which was performed on solemn days, for the ac-

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commodating of ladies. The gateway was built and designed by Hans Holbein, and is one of the finest pieces of flint-work in Europe. In Whitehall are several pieces of the same sort as the Banqueting-house. This flint chequer-work came in use in the middle of the reign of Henry VII. On this gate are the busts of four emperors' heads on each side, worthy observing for the curiosity of the workmanship. They are made of clay, and baked in a kiln, and afterwards glazed like fine earthenware, but after another manner, and some part gilt with gold like enamelling, which makes it hold as it doth. The further gateway hath also some figures of the like nature, but not so well performed, being made of bisket-ware, that is, a white clay, and glazed like potter's ware.

This the workmen called stone-ware, much in use in the days of Henry VIII. and of King James I. as might have been seen by Dean Colet's head in Paul's school, and likewise his monument in Paul's church, now destroyed by fire, and several of the same kind at Hampton Court. One remains in the wall of the Duke of Britany's house in Little Britain, where Mr. Norton the printer lived. In the church of St. Andrew Undershaft is John Stow's monument, baked and painted to the life, as Dean Colet's, set up about 1605.

As for the glazing or enamelling of such figures, Stow, in his Survey of London, speaks of the spire-steeple of St. John's, Jerusalem, which was enamelled with several colours, as azure and gold, which made a noble show to the North parts of London, and was the only ornament on that side the city, of which he much laments the downfall. On the West side of Aldgate, new built 16 . . , there was found an old Roman coin, which, being preserved, was carved out in stone very fine, and worth observation. On the front of several old timber houses in the city and suburbs are the figures of several Roman emperors, but most of the Lower Empire. These, I conceive, were found at digging the foundation of those houses; and some persons, delighting in antiquity, had them made larger in molds to take off the reverse, and so fixed them upon the houses. This may be seen against St. Andrew's church, in Holborn.

The Earl of Arundel formed a most incomparable collection of antiquities, consisting of curiosities of all kinds, gathered from all nations. After his death, some of his statues fell into the hands of builders, who set them up to ornament their new erections in Cuper's Gardens. What became of the rest is uncertain; but it was reported they were hid under ground, in the time of the Popish plot, in

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the court-yard of Tart-hall, where formerly was a gallery of old pictures, the most antient ever seen in this kingdom.

There were several antient statues in the Privy-garden; and the gladiator that stood in the Park is removed to Hampton-court. In Somerset-house garden are some few antique figures, and an antient stone chair.

As for modern statues, there are those of King James II. cast in brass, in the square at Chelsea College and at Whitehall; King Charles I. on horseback at Charing-cross; the four figures of Queen Elizabeth, King James I. King Charles I. and II. (carved by Bushnel) at Temple-bar; Queen Elizabeth, on the West side of Ludgate; on the East, King Lud and his two sons. At Aldersgate, on the North side, is the true portraiture of King James I. on horseback, in his habit as he came to England, and is much commended; it was carved by Mr. Christmas; on the South side he is in his robes, but lately gone to decay.

There is a piece of the Resurrection, carved in bass relief, over the gateway of the church yard of St. Andrew, Holborn, in Shoe-lane, not far from the church, much admired by the curious. It hath lately been coloured over, to preserve it, which hath taken much from the sharpness of it. It hath been imitated at the gates of St. Giles's in the Fields, and St. Dunstan's in the East.

At the Stocks Market is the figure of King Charles II. in marble, treading down a Turk. It was cut at Leghorn, in Italy, and reported to be designed for Cromwell, but bought by Sir Robert Vyner, and set up at his charge.

On the South front of the Royal Exchange are the statues of King Charles I. and II. very much esteemed; and in the centre the statue of King Charles II. Cæsar-like, cut in marble, set on a pedestal, cut by the famous G. Gibbons, and graved and printed on a large sheet by P. Vanderbank. There are the statues of several of our Kings and Queens, done by several artists; and at the end of one of the walks is the figure of Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of this Exchange, in his proper habit.

The figures of King Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth, and King Charles I. over the South passage into Guildhall, are worthy observing.

On Aldgate are heads done after two antique medals found at the digging the foundation for new building that gate, in the year 1610.

At Christ Church are the statues of King Edward VI. the founder, and King Charles II. founder of the Mathematical School.

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Over the gateway of St. Bartholomew's, or the Lame Hospital, next Smithfield, is the statue of King Henry VI. the founder.

At Aske's Hospital, near Hoxton, are the statues of the founder, in his gown; and over the gate old Coplestone, and another old man, in their alms gowns.

In the square at Soho, called Monmouth Square, is the statue of the Duke of Monmouth; and in Queen's Square at Westminster, near the Park, is the figure of Queen Anne; and in Lincoln's Inn Garden are several figures.

Those in the Queen's Garden at St. James's, and on the front of the Duke of Buckingham's house in the Park, deserve a curious inspection.

At the upper end of Westminster Hall are six figures of the Kings of England, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the First, and King Stephen, with crowns on their heads, and on either side of the great gate of the hall; the rest down to Richard the Second's time, he being the builder of the hall, as may be seen by a device of a hart round the verge of the wall, and the arms held by angels carved.

On the outside of the Abbey have been variety of figures of our Kings, Bishops, and Abbots; some remain to this day, particularly that of King James the First, set up at his first coming to England. In the abbey church are very many monuments of our kings, queens, and princes of the blood, dukes, earls, bishops, abbots, &c. for which I refer you to Mr. Keepe's book, where are all the inscriptions and epitaphs, who, had he met with encouragement in his life time, would have had many of them drawn, to be graved, to publish a folio, as Sir William Dugdale has done St. Paul's. Mr. Sandford's Genealogy of the kings of England is now publishing, with several additions. In it are the monuments of the kings, queens, and their children, &c. and some part of the church in perspective; Henry the Eighth's chapel, with his and his queen's monument. This was an admirable piece of building, and called by our antiquary Leland the eighth wonder of the world. Mr. Sandford also did the coronations of King Charles the Second, and King James the Second, with several views of the body of the church and Westminster Hall. When a person hath once viewed this cathedral, this book will be a great help to him.

For the funeral monuments here, their designs and sculptures in marble, and those cast in brass, exceed any in Europe, and well deserve to be often and critically inspected.

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In Henry the Seventh's Chapel, when you lift up your eyes, you will find a great number of figures at length, in variety of habits, as prophets, kings, evangelists, apostles, patriarchs, fathers, saints, &c. at length.

Turning up the seats of the stalls, you will find an admirable piece of workmanship, taken notice of by very few. The pavement in the high altar is not to be paralleled in Europe; it was made at the cost of William de Ward, alias Warrin, then Abbot of Westminster, afterwards Lord Treasurer of England (he being buried before the high altar.) He brought with him from Rome certain workmen called lapidaries, and rich stones, as porphyry, lapis lazulæ, jasper, &c. of which that excellent piece of workmanship was composed, with several Latin verses. See Weever's "Funeral Monuments," p. 485. He died A. D. 1283. That most ingenious gentleman, Mr. Talman, hath lately drawn and coloured it, in order to preserve it to posterity. He also made St. Edward the Confessor's shrine about the same time, in Mosaic work, the like rarely to be seen, though I have seen several pieces of serpentine stone taken up at the West end of St. Paul's, when they dug for the foundation, which were wrought into several forms for a pavement, though a great deal bigger, and was without doubt a part of a pavement to some chapel in antient times, I mean since Christianity. I have seen several pieces, but all serpentine, and the pavement was in knotwork, as appears by the several forms, some half round, oblong, triangular, &c. &c.

About the year 1690 lived a Mr. John Conyers, a great antiquary, especially in those things that related to London. At the beginning of its re-building he made it his business to inquire of the labourers who dug foundations what they found, and gave them encouragement to save them for him, especially old money, many weapons, &c. In St. Paul's, at the West end, he had a great Roman utensil; also in Goodman's Fields; and a collection well stored with antiquities both in art and nature, and was one of the first in that way. He purchased whatever was out of course that came to his hands; and sometimes those that sold old iron, furnished him with a rarity not to be seen in an age. He had his circular walks about London, and visited the booksellers' shops, and collected many rare MSS. as well as printed books. He also inspected most of the gravel-pits near London, to please his curiosity with Nature's variety in the different sorts and shapes of stones.

About the year 1689, in a gravel-pit not far from the sign

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of Sir John Oldcastle, he discovered the carcase of an elephant, and I saw part of it dug out, and what remained he bought of the workmen. This he was of opinion had not lain there ever since the flood, but since the Romans; for in the time of Claudius, as mentioned by the learned Selden on Drayton's Polyolbion, and near this place, a battle was fought between the Britons and Romans, for in the same pit he found the head of a British spear, not of metal, but flint, which is now, amongst other rarities, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Charlett, master of University College in Oxford. Out of Mr. Conyers's collection have been raised some others of great value, being much improved in many respects. Of these Mr. Kemp's was the principal. It was the first that was publicly shewn in London. This collection was deposited near the Hay-market, and consisted, in brief, of the following articles:

A vast variety of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquities, both artificial and natural.

His coins in gold, silver, and brass, were very valuable, not only for the number, but the scarceness of them, and his great judgment in distinguishing counterfeits from originals.

He had several antient Egyptian Gods in metal, divers sorts of stones and artificial earth, two antient mummies in their wooden coffins, the heads of a man and woman carved on the outside of the coffins. You might discern the folds of the linen, their painted hieroglyphicks, and several of their seals some thousand years old.

He had great variety of Grecian antiquities, as their gods, inscriptions on marble, and others.

Several marble statues of the Roman Gods; others in brass, and thirty-four marble inscriptions, originals; rare marble urns, curiously carved; variety of others in glass and brass, enamelled, and in several sorts of earth, and divers shapes and fashions.

In his presses were variety of instruments used by the antients in their sacrifices and burials, as lamps, fibulæ in brass, seals and rings of divers fashions.

And a good collection of books, particularly on chemistry and mineralogy; some Oriental MSS.; with the whole of Mr. Gaillard's collections, and part of Lord Cartwright's.

The beginning of a century forms an epoch in the annals of Science and the Arts. The present has been fertile in improvements. We now verge towards its conclusion; and the acquisitions to the general stock of learning are no where more perceivable than in your useful Compilation. There,

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like in a graduated scale, we plainly discern the various degrees of refinement in human knowledge; and rise, as it were, to the perfection of the present period by the most pleasing ascent. May you continue your labours for the benefit of mankind, and, keeping pace with time, only end with the existence of matter!

1790, *Oct.* H. L.

CXIX. Curious Tenure at Chingford, Essex.

MR. URBAN, *Sandwich, April.* 19.

IN turning over some old family papers of my grandfather Bunce's (many years ago rector of Chingford cum Pitsey, in Essex), I found the inclosed MS. If it contains any thing worth notice, make what use of it you please.

To whom this was addressed I cannot say, but plainly to some then compiler of the history of that county.

Yours, &c.

W. BUNCE.

SIR, *Chingford, Nov...*, 1721.

"Being an absolute stranger to you, you must excuse me if I treat you not in character; but understanding that you are publishing a History of Essex, I think it my duty to transmit to you an account of somewhat extraordinary, and perhaps particular. There is in my parish of Chingford a farm, of about twenty pounds a year, for which every proprietor is to pay the rector homage once at his instance. Mr. Haddon, the present owner, shewed me proofs of it from Queen Elizabeth's time, inclusive, to my time, according to the subjoined form: which notice you had had from me sooner, but that Mr. Alexander of the Commons undertook to transmit a copy of what I now send you. I am not certain whether it was last summer, or the summer before; but, not knowing whether he has done it or no, you will excuse my troubling you with this. I must be so just to Mr. Alexander as to let you know, that when some warm people in the company objected against giving you any assistance, upon the score of your being a Dissenter, he handsomely maintained that that had no relation to history.

"I have taken the freedom to entertain both the pre-

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ceding and present Bishop of London with my private conjecture about the origin of such a custom, which is, that Henry VIII. might take that farm from the antient glebe, and, giving it to his falconer or huntsman, might, by way of atonement, put this feather in the church's cap; for Henry VIII. was not without a seat or two in this parish. The farm joins to a glebe grove, and the homage carries all the air of a falconer or huntsman. If you think fit upon this, or any other account, to write to me, please to direct to Mr. Haslewood, at Mr. Bendysh's, against Princes-street, in Bedford-row, London.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

FRANCIS HASLEWOOD, Rector ibidem."

"Bee remembred, that the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1659, came Samuell Haddon, and Mary his wyfe, Edmond Cotster, his man-servant, and Mathew Walle, his maide-servant, to the parsonage of Chingford, at the commaund of Thomas Wytham, Master of Artes, and rector of the said parsonage. The said Samuell Haddon did his homage there, and paid his reliefe in maner and forme as hereafter followeth, for one tenement at Chingford that is called Scottes Mayhewes, alias Brendwood, which was lately purchased of Daniell Thelwel, Esq. First, the said Samuell did blowe three blastes with a horne at the said parsonage, and afterward received of the said Thomas Wytham, a chicken for his hawke, a peck of oates for his horse, a loafe of bread for his greyhound, and afterward received his dinner for himselfe, and also his wyfe, his man, and his maide. The maner of his cominge to the said parsonage was on horseback, with his hawke on his fist, and his greyhound in his slippe. And after dinner blew three blastes with his horne at the said parsonage, and then paid twelve-pence of lawfull money of England for his reliefe, and so departed. All these seremoneys were donne for the homage and reliefe of the said tenement at Chingford Hatch, called Scottes Mayhewes, alias Brendwood, as before hath beene accustomed to be donne time out of mind.

"Witnesses to the performance of the seremoneyes aforesaid.

"Ralphe Delle,
"Jo. Hette,
"John Woodward."

1790, *Sep.*

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CXX. Expences of Fox-hunting in the Thirteenth Century.

MR. URBAN, *Aug.* 3.

MANY gentlemen fox-hunters being doubtless readers of the Gentleman's Magazine, it will, I imagine, contribute to their amusement, to apprize them of the style and expence of their favourite diversion almost five hundred years ago; and the account of the Comptroller of the Wardrobe of King Edward I. anno Domini 1299 and 1300, will afford them much information. This account, with prefatory observations, and a glossary subjoined, was printed not long since at the charge of the Society of Antiquaries; and the four ingenious and learned members, who were desired to superintend the transcribing and publishing of this curious manuscript, executed their commission with fewer mistakes than could well have been expected in so difficult a task. A translation of the articles which relate to fox-hunting is inclosed; and, to accommodate the curious, the original Latin shall be subjoined.

P. 308. Paid to William de Foxhunte, the King's huntsman of foxes in divers forests and parks, for his own wages, and the wages of his two boys to take care of the dogs, from Nov. 20th to the 19th of Nov. following, for 366 days, it being leap year, to each per day two-pence - - - - - - - - - - - - - £.9 3 0

Paid to the same, for the keep of twelve fox-dogs belonging to the King, for the same time, each *dog** per day, a halfpenny - - £.9 3 0

Paid to the same, the expence of a horse to carry the nets, from Nov. 20th to the last day of April, 163 days, three-pence per day - - £.2 0 9

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* In the Observations, p. xlv. it is suggested that the allowance was a halfpenny for the keep of each *fox*; and it is one of the very few errors that can be imputed to the respectable quartetto above-mentioned. They may have fallen into it from being in the habit of hunting a bag-fox; but it is apprehended that, in the year referred to, foxes were so numerous in England, that (in order to be sure of a chace) it was not requisite to use this precaution, or that of Sir Roger de Coverley, who owned to his confidential friends his having turned foxes about the country, that he might signalize himself in their destruction.

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Paid to the same, the expence of the horse from September 1st, on which day the hunting-season began, after the *dead-season*, to the 19th of November, 80 days, three-pence per day	£.1	0	0
P. 103. Paid to William d' Blatherwyck, huntsman of the King's fox-dogs, for winter-shoes for himself and his two boys, to each of them two shillings and four-pence - - -	£.0	7	0
P. 317. Paid to the same, for his habit during the present year - - - - - - - -	£.0	13	4
Paid to the same for habits for his two boys, ten shillings each - - - - - - - - -	£.1	0	0
Total -	£.23	7	1

If these sums are multiplied by fifteen, there will be nearly the due allowance made for the difference in the value of money between that time and the present*; and consequently the whole of the King's annual expence under this article amounted to somewhat more than three hundred and fifty pounds six shillings and three-pence of our money. Nor was this by any means a trivial charge, if it be considered upon how small a scale this part of his Majesty's establishment was formed; for it consisted of only the huntsman, two boys, twelve dogs†, and one horse to carry the toils.

Such a hunt, though honoured by the title of royal, would be ridiculed by the subscribers to a modern fox-hunt. The cry of a dozen dogs (qu. *terriers?*) could make but a slight impression upon the ears of persons accustomed to the burst of twenty-five couple, and more, of hounds, which is apt to

* This calculation is made without taking into the account the last article, amounting to 1*l.* 4*s.* 0*d*, which appears in the original Latin statement. E.

† Besides these dogs, there is no other mentioned in the MS. except the *hare-greyhound, leporar' gruar'*, at p. 96.—Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, derives the term greyhound from *gris hund*, (Saxon,) canis venaticus; though a hunting-hound seems to be an addition too general. May it not rather be a corruption of the French *gruier*, in Latin *gruarius*, a principal officer noticed in the forest laws; thus distinguishing a dog that must have been in high estimation for its fleetness in coursing in an uninclosed country. The allowance for fetching this greyhound by the King's command, and keeping it, was 1l. 4s. 0d, It is obvious that it could not be, according to the notion of Chambers, with respect to the colour of the dogs, that they were styled *grey*, or *gray*; but *green*, with allusion to the kind of ground over which they generally ran, would not have been un-apposite, for the like reason that verdurers of forests are thus denominated. "*Gruier*, Gallis, apud quos idem, secundum locorum discrimina, qui *verdier*, *forestier*, &c. ex quibus pronum est vocis etymon, ex Germanico nempe *gruen*, vel *groen*, viridis; unde nostris *viridarius*, idem quod *gruarius*.

Du Fresne, ad verbum.

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excite so great an ebullition of joy, as seems for a time to deprive them of their senses, and stimulate them to "o'er the hedge high-bound,—into the perilous flood bear fearless,—and of the rapid instinct full, rush down the dangerous steep."—This choice of glorious perils was not, however, indulged to their ancestors; since it appears from the entries, that they were pedestrian hunters.

Mortua seisona, as here used, are words that merit our attention. To the generality of people, the warm and fertile months of May, June, July, and August, are enlivening and cheerful; though by fox-hunters of former days it was deemed a *dead season* of the year. And from some expressions that have occasionally dropped from sportsmen of this class, with whom I have the pleasure of conversing, I am inclined to suspect that the epithet *dead*, when prefixed to summer, is, in their opinion, pertinent and emphatic. But it is a lucky circumstance, that the late revival of the play with bows and arrows has somewhat lessened the torpidity of the hunter's vacation.

The same phrase brings to my mind a glaring anachronism advanced by Mr. Addison in one of the entertaining papers he is supposed to have written whilst he was visiting Sir Roger de Coverley; who, we are told, hunted almost every day in the first fortnight in July: an idea surely as incongruous, and to a farmer as horrid, as Sterling's hot buttered rolls for breakfast in that month was to Lord Ogleby! The conclusion I draw from this lapse of the pen is, that Coverley-hall was situated at either Chelsea or Islington; and that Mr. Spectator was not ambling upon the chaplain's easy pad, but walking over the Five Fields, or the Spa Fields, when he had in view the imaginary doubles of the Hare*. And perhaps in this my trailing I may have been so often at a fault, as to betray my having no right to the signature of

W. D. FOXHUNTE.

P. 208. Will'o de Foxhunte, venatori Regis vulper' venanti in diversis forestis et parcis ad vulpes, pro vadiis suis, et duorum garcionum custod' canes Regis vulper', a 20 die Novembr' anno presenti 28, incipiente usque 19 diem ejusdem mensis anno revoluto, per

* See Spectator, No. 116; in which is the following passage: "Sir Roger being at present too old for fox-hunting, to keep himself in action has disposed of his *beagles*, and got a pack of *stop-hounds*."—Qu.—In Addison's days was it the practice to hunt foxes with *beagles*, and a hare with *stop-hounds*?

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366 dies, quia annus bissextilis, cuilibet per diem 2d. - - - - - - - - - - - - - £.9 3 0

Eidem pro putura 12 canum Regis vulper' per idem tempus, pro quolibet per diem ob. - £.9 3 0

Eidem pro expens' unius equi portantis rethia sua, a 20 die Novemb' anno presenti 28 incipiente usque ultimum diem Aprilis, utroque computato, per 163 dies, per diem 3d. - £.2 0 9

Eidem pro expens' ejusdem equi portantis rethia modo predicto, a primo die Septembr', quo die incipit seisona ad venand' ad vulpes post seisonam mortuam anni presentis usque 19 diem Novembr' anno presente finiente, utroque computato, per 80 dies, per diem 3d. £.1 0 0

P. 103. Will'mo de Blatherwyk, venatori Regis ad vulpes, pro calciamentis hiemalibus anni presentis, pro se et garcionibus suis, cuilibet eorum 2s. 4d. - - - - - - - - - £.0 7 0

P. 317. Eidem, pro roba sua totius anni presentis - - - - - - - - - - - - £.0 13 4

Eidem, pro robis duorum garcionum suorum, pro quolibet 10s. - - - - - - - - - - £.1 0 0

P. 96. Henrico de Blakeburn, eunti per preceptum Regis pro quodam leporar' gruar 'ad opus Regis querend' pro expensis suis eundo, morando, et redeundo, et pro putura ejusdem leporar' veniendo ad Regem; per manus proprias apud Berewycum, 28 die Decembris - £.1 4 0

1790, *Sep.*

CXXI. Description of several Barrows opened in Dorsetshire.

MR. URBAN, *Winchester, Oct.* 1.

IF the *Life of Man* be *short*, as it is termed in Scripture, it is a wish congenial to his heart, that his memory at least should be of long continuance. This sentiment accounts for the universal practice of raising Sepulchral Monuments, and is finely illustrated by the plaintive Gray:

For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing, anxious being e'er resign'd;
Left the warm precincts of the chearful day,
Nor cast one longing, ling'ring look, behind?

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The most simple and natural kind of Sepulchral Monument, and therefore the most antient and universal, consists in a mound of earth, or a heap of stones, raised over the remains of the deceased. Of such monuments, mention is made in the book of Joshua, and in the poems of Homer, Virgil, and Horace; and of such, instances occur in every part of this kingdom; especially in those elevated and sequestered situations where they have neither been defaced by agriculture nor inundations. It has often been a subject of surprise to me, that, in an age marked by its taste for Antiquarian researches, greater attention should not have been paid to these most antient and genuine records of past ages, so far, at least, as to ascertain to which of the successive inhabitants of this island they are to be ascribed, or whether, in fact, they are the work of more than one people. This can only be done by an examination of the contents of several of them in different counties, and in different situations, by persons whose learning, ingenuity, and attention, qualify them for the task. In searching, however, into these rude memorials of our forefathers, the true antiquary will ever respect their remains; and, whilst he enters into their views by endeavouring to revive their memory, he will also as far as possible consult their wishes, in leaving to their bones their antient place of sepulture.

Having been lately on a visit to a gentleman in Dorsetshire, on whose estate an incredible number of these barrows are found, he kindly complied with my wishes in causing several of them to be opened. I shall first describe, in the most accurate manner I am able, the contents of the several barrows; and then give such conjectures as occur to me concerning the people to whom they belonged: not without a view, however, that greater light may hereafter be thrown on the subject by persons whose experience and information in this branch of antiquarian study are superior to my own.

We began with two barrows of no great dimensions opposite to East Lullworth, on a level piece of ground that is met with in the ascent up of a steep and lofty mountain, the top of which is crowned with a bold double intrenchment, of Roman or Barbaric workmanship, and which is known by the name of *Flower's barrow*. If we pay any regard to the conjecture of Hutchins, in his History of Dorsetshire, who derives the name of *Flower's barrow* from a supposed Roman General of the name of *Florus*, the question will be solved at once what people raised this strong intrenchment; and it will afford some kind of presumptive proof that the barrows below contained Roman remains. But we are to observe,

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that he produces no proof whatever of any Roman General of the name of Florus ever having been in those parts; nor does the figure of the camp affect the Roman quadrangle, but seems rather to humour the natural shape of the hill. Indeed part of it, by some convulsion of Nature, appears to have sunk below its original level, while no small portion of it has fallen into the sea below, which, at the depth of seven hundred feet, is for ever undermining its rocky base. In these two barrows we found promiscuously scattered perfect human teeth, burnt human bones, together with those of animals, such as pieces of the jaw-bones of horses or oxen, teeth of the same animals, tusks of boars, small round stones of the Portland kind, not bigger than children's marbles, pointed stones that possibly have been the heads of weapons, certain lumps of corroded metal, seemingly iron, but of an undetermined shape, a few particles of yellow metal, which being lost could not undergo the assay, some crumbling pieces of dark-coloured unburnt urns, together with a few lumps of brick or earthenware, that appeared to have been well burnt. In addition to all this, we perceived a considerable quantity of fine, rich, black earth, with a certain white mouldiness between the particles, which must have been fetched from a considerable distance, and which I have invariably found strewed over the remains of the dead in these antient sepulchres. The bottom of one of these graves was paved with large, round stones, that had been worked smooth by the action of the sea, and which apparently had been fetched from the adjacent shore.

From the confused state in which we found the contents of these two barrows, which indeed were situated near what had formerly been an inhabited spot, as the name of *Arish Mill* indicates, we were satisfied they had been in some past time disturbed: we therefore determined to make our next research in a more remote and inaccessible situation. With this view we pitched upon a large barrow, being twelve feet in perpendicular height, and two hundred in circumference, situated at the highest point of a lofty mountain about midway between the Points of Portland and Purbeck Islands. This tumulus is known in the country by the name of *Hambury-taut*, or *toote*, the first of which words I conjecture, may be the name of the chieftain there buried, while the other two appear to be the corruption of Saxon and British words expressive of a barrow. Many of the same articles were found on the surface and at the extremities of this, as in the former barrows, such as burnt human bones, bits of metal, &c.: but on our approaching to the centre, at about

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the depth of four feet from the surface, a skeleton appeared in perfect preservation, lying with its head to the North, but so tender, as to crumble into dust with the least pressure; its posture, which was that of a person sleeping on his side, with the feet rather drawn up, one hand resting on its breast, the other on its hip, prevented it from being accurately measured. The account of the people, however, employed in digging, we found afterwards had magnified it to the size of seven, and even of eight feet. But what may be said with certainty is, that the thigh-bone measured twenty inches, which in a well-proportioned man, I find, gives a height of six feet and of about as many inches. One of the leg-bones appeared to have been fractured; but whether this had happened by some wound in war, or by some accident at the funeral, or by the weight of the superincumbent earth, it is impossible to determine. On the breast of the skeleton was deposited a rude urn, too much decayed to be handled without falling to pieces, of about the measure of two quarts, but empty of every thing except the same fine mould that covered the skeleton. Near the neck of the latter were found many of the round stones I have before mentioned, but of different sizes, from that of a pigeon's egg down to that of a pea. As they were imperforated, it is not improbable they had once been covered with metal, in which state they might have formed a necklace, or any similar ornament. The substance of the barrow, as high as the site of the body, was formed of flints and stones; into which a shaft was sunk to a considerable depth, but without finding any thing worth notice. The next day, however, the country people, who had witnessed the diligence of our researches, which they conceived must have had an object of greater value in view than bones and earthen vessels, being encouraged moreover by a popular tradition, that a treasure lies hidden in the earth somewhere between Weymouth and Purbeck Island, they assembled, I say, and dug to the very bottom of the centre of the barrow, where they found nothing but a large heap of ashes, in all probability the remains of a funeral pile which had been erected on that spot. Another small barrow, that was opened the same day, yielded nothing but bones and broken urns.

Unavoidable business calling me home at the end of the week, my respectable friend communicated to me, by letter, the result of his searches, the ensuing week; of which the following is an extract:

" On the Thursday after you left us, we pitched our tent near another of those barrows, and set to work upon it.

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We discovered, at about the depth of two feet, no less than five distinct skeletons: three of them were in a row, lying on their backs, two of which appeared to be of the common size, but that in the middle was a small one, probably of some young person. The two others were at the distance of a few feet from these, of the ordinary size, with the head of one lying on the breast of the other. Each of the skeletons had an urn upon it; but these were so perished, that upon being touched they fell into earth, except a few pieces near the top rim of one of them, which I have preserved for your inspection. Under the head of one of the three that lay in a row we found a small earthen urn, about the size of the cup part of an ordinary wine glass."

I have only to add to this account, that the small urn just mentioned, which was of the same shape with the rest we found, namely, that of a truncated cone, was about two inches high, and one in diameter, and that, though nicely covered with the shell of a limpet, it was quite empty: likewise that the broken pieces of urn were ornamented by being rudely indented in a zigzag fashion; and that the five skeletons were not all exactly on the same level in the barrow, which appears to have been a family sepulchre, but that the two last mentioned seemed to have been deposited in the side of the barrow without taking it to pieces.

Five or six other barrows in the same neighbourhood have since been opened by the same gentleman; but, as the contents of them all were nearly the same, I shall satisfy myself with giving an account of one of them, which was opened in my presence. It was one out of three which stood in a line at about the distance of one hundred and fifty feet from each other, being about the same number of feet in circumference, and about ten in perpendicular height. On a shaft being cut to the centre of the barrow, we found a kind of rude vault or *kistvaen*, formed with unhewed stones, inclosing an urn capable of holding about two gallons, and full of burnt human bones, being covered at the top with a thin, flat stone, and having a quantity of the roots of quitch-grass undecayed near it, which also frequently occurred in the other barrows. The urn in question was composed of a coarse black clay, of the shape above described, and did not seem either to have been turned with a lathe, or burnt in a kiln, but merely hardened by fire or the heat of the sun. Of the same substance and form were all the other urns discovered in this neighbourhood: there was this difference, however, in their position, that some of them stood upright, and others were found inverted.

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The uniformity observed in the barrows I have described, in shape, situation, apparent antiquity, and, to a certain degree, in contents, seems to argue that these at least were the work of one and the same people. Who these were remains now to be considered. I think it is plain they could not have been the Romans; for though these were in the practice both of burying and burning their dead entire, as appears from the Twelve Tables, and from other monuments, yet the rudeness of the present urns, so unlike the neat, polished ones I discovered last year near this city, together with true Roman *fibulæ*, *coins*, &c. and which have been honoured with a place in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the *Society of Antiquaries;* the situation of these sepulchres on lofty *mountains*, and sequestered *downs*, whereas the Romans affected to bury near *cities*, and close to *highways;* add to this, there being no sepulchral lamps, lacrymatories, coins, or other tokens of Roman sepulture; all these circumstances, I say, point out Barbarians, and not Romans, as the constructors of these barrows. We must therefore ascribe them to one of the three following nations, viz. the Britons, the Saxons, or the Danes; and we must attribute these works to one of them previously to its conversion to Christianity, as, wherever the Christian religion prevailed, it immediately banished the Pagan rite of burning the dead, as appears from many Canons of Councils to this effect, and introduced the use of common cemeteries consecrated to this purpose. Of the above-mentioned nations, the Danes seem to have the weakest claim to these numerous barrows, as (independent of other arguments that will occur below) they never seem to have been stationary in this part of the kingdom for any considerable time till their princes and the nation in general professed themselves Christians; whereas in the above-mentioned barrows there is even some appearance of family sepulchres. It remains then to consider whether it is more reasonable to attribute these ancient monuments to the Britons previous to their adopting the manners of their conquerors the Romans, or to their more fatal enemies our Saxon ancestors. For my part, I think there are more and stronger arguments for ascribing them to the former than to the latter people. For though both the Celts or Gauls, of whom the Britons were evidently a tribe, as appears from the uniformity of their language and of their civil and religious rites, and the Germans of whom the Saxons formed an illustrious portion, were both in the practice of at least occasionally using funeral piles, barrows, and urns; as Montfaucon has discovered

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in regard to the Gauls, and Gronovius with other German antiquaries in respect to their forefathers; yet there is this striking difference between the two people, that the former, according to Cæsar, were fond of the pomp of funerals, sacrificing various animals as well as men on the occasion, and burying with the dead whatever they had that was most precious: whereas the latter, according to Tacitus, despised the fruitless ambition, as they considered it, of magnificent funerals; and it was only on some extraordinary occasion that the warrior's horse was buried with his master. Morton adds, that the Saxons had laid aside the custom of burning their dead previously to their invasion of this island; but whether the last-mentioned assertion rests upon sufficient proof, or not, I think the evident consequences to be deduced from what has been alledged above, when considered with respect to the contents of the barrows in question, likewise the very great antiquity of these barrows, manifest by the condition of the metal, bones, and urns, found in them. Again, the coarseness and rudeness of these urns, which, in my opinion, rather bespeak the manufacture of the savage Britons, than of the Saxons, who by their very piracies upon civilized nations were a polished people at their conquest of this island, compared with the former six hundred years before; and, above all, the conformity between these barrows and those opened by Dr. Stukeley and others in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge; all these circumstances, I say, considered together, induce me to attribute the barrows I have described to the Aborigines of this island, the Britons, rather than to the Saxons, or any later people. With respect to the argument I have drawn from the conformity between these barrows and those near Stonehenge, I take it for granted that this stupendous pile of Barbaric magnificence is allowed to have been a Druidical temple; and that the barrows with which it is surrounded had some relation with it, and belonged to the same people by whom it was constructed.

A very great difficulty, however, remains to be explained, which is, that some of these barrows contained nothing but urns full of burnt bones, while others contained entire skeletons, with urns placed upon them, and with burnt human bones, charcoal, and ashes, scattered throughout the tumulus. To account for this, I must refer to the authorities adduced by the learned and ingenious author of the "History of Manchester," to prove that the Ancient Britons were in the habit of using both rites of funeral, that of burning, and that of burying entire. It is probable that, at Hambury Toote,

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and such other barrows as contain vestiges of both practices, the captives, slaves, and animals, destined to appease the manes of the deceased chieftain, or to accompany his departed spirit, were killed and burnt on the spot, and that afterwards a barrow was raised over their ashes, near the summit of which the body of the chieftain himself was buried entire. The urn placed on the breast of the corpse probably contained ointments, or valuable articles belonging to the deceased, in conformity with Cæsar's account of the British funerals. This conjecture is confirmed, in my opinion, by the diminutive size of the small urn covered with a limpet shell, mentioned above, as it appears too small to have answered any other purpose we are acquainted with. It is possible that one of those horrid sacrifices, which the author just quoted describes, might have made part of the funeral rite performed at some of these barrows, in which a considerable number of human victims were inclosed in a kind of cage made of basket-work, and burnt alive, in order to render propitious the blood-thirsty deities of the Druids.

1790, *Oct.* JOHN MILNER.

CXXII. Parliament Oak in Welbeck Park.

MR. URBAN, *May* 4.

AS, by favour of the excellent author of the work, I am become possessed of a copy of that elegant tract, Mr. Rooke's "Descriptions and Sketches of some remarkable Oaks in the Park at Welbeck," &c. wherein the drawings by Mr. Rooke, and the engravings by Mr. Ellis, are so very fine; I beg leave to send you a brief and friendly remark upon one passage in it. He observes, p. 12, "There is a very old oak in Clipston Park, which the common people call the *Parliament Oak*, from an idea that a parliament was once held under it. I have not found any good authority for this fact; but it is certain that a parliament was held by Edw. I. anno 1290, at Clipston palace," &c. Now, Sir, as there was a palace at this place, and a parliament was held there anno 1290, as here stated, I, for my part, have no objection to the vulgar and current opinion, that this oak was the place of the assembly's meeting. There is an hundred in Derbyshire, stiled *Appletree hundred*, from some large tree of the kind being probably the place of the rendezvous or

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hundred court; and on the confines of the parishes of Godmersham and Chilham, in Kent, a place is to this day called Hundred-beech, from some large beech, no doubt, there formerly growing, and where the hundred court was usually kept. The famous *Augustine's Ac*, or oak, mentioned by Venerable Bede, lib. II. c. 2, where the Saxons had the conference with the Britons, will certainly occur to the learned reader on this occasion; and other instances of the same kind will probably be recollected by your readers; so that the name of the *Parliament Oak*, in my opinion, stands upon a plausible, reasonable, and analogical foundation, though it be only supported by tradition, and may be taken, consequently, for a proper appellation, grounded on real matter of fact.

Yours, &c.

1791, *June.* L. E.

CXXIII. Conjecture on the Etymology of London.

Mr. URBAN, *Clement's-lane, Dec.* 8.

SO many able antiquaries have attempted to find the true etymology of the name of my native city, London, that it may appear presumptuous to offer any thing farther on the subject. Yet, as a conjecture has occurred to me, which I think both new and plausible, I am induced to lay it before the public by means of your entertaining Magazine.

Mr. Pennant, who, I believe, is the latest author who has published an account of London, says (p. 16 of the first edition,)—"The Surry side was, in all probability, a great expanse of water, a lake, a llyn, as the Welch call it, which an ingenious countryman of mine, not without reason, thinks might have given a name to our capital; *llyn din*, or the city on the lake".

But I cannot think this derivation satisfactory, because Mr. P. allows (p. 34) that "in St. George's-fields have been found remains of tessellated pavements, coins, and an urn full of bones, possibly the site of a summer camp of the Romans. In this place it could have been no other. It was too wet for a residentiary station. Its neighbour, Lambeth-marsh, was, in the last century, overflown with water; but St. George's-fields might, from their distance from the river, admit of a temporary encampment."

But the city itself, in my opinion, is clearly described by

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its ancient name, if the following etymology is the true one.

I learn, by Lhuyd's Archæologia, that the British word for a valley is *glynn*; and it is well known that the initial *g* in that language is often omitted in construction.

That the surface of the ground which London occupies was very uneven when the Romans took possession of it is evident; the remains of Roman buildings, found at very different depths in many parts of it, and the rivulets of Walbrook and Fleet, favour this opinion.

I conjecture then that the original British name of this city was *Glynn Din*, or, in construction, *Lynn Din*; and, if this be allowed, it is very strikingly characteristic of the place; and, from the last name, the Romans might easily learn to call and write it *Londinum*.

Perhaps it may be objected to me, that the Welsh spell it with *ll*, which my derivation does not seem to authorize. In answer to this I say, that some nations now pronounce the letter *g* very soft: the modern Greeks (and I believe, the Germans in some cases) do so. This soft *g* is to the English hard *g* as the Welsh *ch* is to *k*, or as *th* in *this* is to *d*. The sound of this soft *g*, and *l* following it, is so similar to the Welsh *ll*, that I think it strengthens my argument, by shewing that the British name of the city of London probably began with the soft *g* (which, for several reasons, I am persuaded was used by the ancients;) and is a good reason why the Welsh write it with *ll*, though Roman authors spell the Latinized name, *Londinum*, with a single *l*.

I shall conclude by observing, that the fact on which I rest my conjecture, whether that conjecture be true or not, is undeniable, namely, that the British city was a *Glynn Dyn*, a town containing valleys and rising grounds*; and that I agree with Mr. Pennant, that it is probable that it existed before the time of Julius Cæsar, as well as many more in this island, which have names clearly Welsh, but which the Romans afterwards seized, colonized, and fortified.

Yours, &c.

1792, *Suppl.* JOHN JACKSON.

* For, though the Roman wall does not include the river Fleet, the Western bank of it might be a part of the earlier British town, or settlement.

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CXXIV. Antiquity of the use of the Ring in the Marriage Service.

MR. URBAN,

A CORRESPONDENT inquires the reason, why the rubric of the marriage-service, in our Liturgy, directs the priest to take the ring, and to "deliver it to the man, to put it upon the *fourth* finger of the woman's *left* hand."

In answer to this inquiry I have to remark, that it appears from Aulus Gellius's entertaining Miscellany (lib. X. cap. 10,) that the ancient Greeks, and most of the Romans, wore their ring on this very finger: *in digito sinistræ manus qui minimo est proximus.* He adds, that Apion says, that a small nerve runs from this finger to the heart; and that, therefore, it was honoured with the office of bearing the ring on account of its connexion with that master-mover of the vital functions. Macrobius (Saturnal. lib. VII. cap. 13) assigns the same reason; but also quotes the opinion of Ateius Capito, that the right-hand was exempt from this office because it was much more used than the left-hand, and therefore the precious stones of the rings were liable to be broken; and that the finger of the left-hand was selected which was the least used.

The reasons here so gravely alledged are, perhaps, equally absurd. They serve, however, to shew the antiquity of the practice. It is well known that, when the empire became Christian, the clergy retained as many customs and usages as were indifferent, for the purpose of conciliating the minds of the people, and promoting the progress of their religion. Finding this practice established, they adopted it into their ritual; perhaps, from the supposed connexion of this hand with the heart, in token of sincerity; and to imply that the contracting parties with their hands made also an interchange of hearts. That the ring was used by the Romans in marriage, see Juvenal, Sat. VI. ver. 27.

It is well known with how much moderation and temper our Reformers proceeded in clearing the ritual from the corruptions of the church of Rome. Such usages as had received the sanction of the Catholic church before the springing up of the Papal usurpation, and such as were not unscriptural or idolatrous, they preserved. Hence the resemblance between the English Liturgy and the Romish Breviary, which ignorance, with her usual petulance, is ever forward to object to the church of England, is, in effect, highly honourable to her, inasmuch as it shews her

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reverence for primitive antiquity, her liberality in admitting reformation when indispensable, and her wisdom in rejecting needless innovation.

How little the Reformation has varied our office of matrimony, may appear from a comparison of the following passage of Chaucer's Merchant's Tale with the opening exhortation to that office:

> " There speaketh many a man of marriage
> That wot no more of this than doth my page;
> For whiche causes man should take a wife:
> If he may not live chaste in his life,
> Take him a wife with great devotion
> Because of *leful procreation*
> *Of children, to the honour of God above,*
> And not onlie *par amour*, or for love;
> And for they shoulden *letcherie eschue*,
> And yeeld his debtes when that it is due;
> Or for that *eche man shauld helpen other*
> In mischief, as a suster should the brother,
> And live in chastity full heavenly."

A little farther on, he describes the marriage ceremony, and alludes to two collects still in use:

> " But finally y-comen is the day
> That to the cherch both twaye ben they went
> For to receive the holy sacrament.
> Forth comes the priest, with stole about his neck,
> *And bad her be like Sara and Rebeck*
> In wisedome and truth of marriage;
> And said his orisons, as is usage;
> And crouched hem, and bad God should hem bles:
> And made all sure inow with holiness."

Thus we see the great antiquity of some of our modern ceremonies; a subject on which I have elsewhere touched, and on which Dr. Taylor had made large collections. Indeed, if we may believe him, "the present ceremony (now in fashion all over Europe,) of "*saluting the bride*" is to be derived from the practice of the ancient Romans, among whom the husband and his relations used to salute the wife, in order to perceive whether she had been guilty of drinking wine, which they made equally criminal with adultery. The Doctor concludes: "If my reader was acquainted with but half the passages I could produce, wherein modern customs,

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though somewhat alienated from their original design and institution, retain however so much of their old feature or complexion as to claim an indisputable relation to some Roman or Grecian solemnity, he would not be startled, as perhaps he was, at the first mention of this opinion. I was tempted here to lay before him an instance or two of this sort, of which I have by me a plentiful collection; but was checked upon the reflexion that I but very lately took him out of the road to shew him a prospect, and therefore rather chose to prosecute my journey, to which it is possible he may now have no objection." Elements of Civil Law, p. 357.

I believe most readers will unite with me in lamenting that this learned writer followed his *second thoughts* in this instance, and will permit me to repeat my hopes that the *collection* above-mentioned may not be for ever concealed from the public eye.

1795, Sept. SCIOLUS.

CXXV. Druidical Customs retained in Cornwall.

MR. URBAN, *April* 8.

IT is a research no less interesting than amusing, to trace back several customs and expressions now used to their Druidical or Saxon original. I am informed by a friend, that an immemorial and peculiar custom prevails on the sea-coast of the Western extremity of Cornwall, of kindling large bonfires on the evening of June 24; and on the next day, the country people, assembling in great crowds, amuse themselves with excursions on the water. For the origin of this, no satisfactory reason can be given; therefore, conjecture is allowable, where certainty cannot be attained. I cannot help thinking it the remains of an antient Druidical festival, celebrated on Midsummer-day, to implore the friendly influence of Heaven on their fields, compounded with that of the first of May, when the Druids kindled large fires on all their sacred places, and on the tops of all their cairns, in honour of Bel, or Belinus, the name by which they distinguished the sun, whose revolving course had again clothed the earth with beauty, and diffused joy and gladness through the creation. Their water-parties on the 24th prove, that they consider the summer season as now so fully established, that they are not afraid to commit them-

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selves to the mercy of the waves. If we reflect on the rooted animosity which subsisted between the Romans and Druids, and that the latter, on being expelled from their former residences, found, together with the miserable remnants of the Britons, an asylum in the naturally-fortified parts of the island, we shall not be surprised at their customs having been faintly handed down through such a long succession of ages. That Cornwall was one of their retreats is sufficiently proved by the numerous remains of their circular temples, cromlechs, cairns, &c. though of the sacred groves in which they were embosomed no vestiges now remain. We all know the avidity with which mankind adhere to, and with what reluctance they lay aside, usages delivered down to them by their ancestors, and familiar to themselves. And, when we farther consider the inveterate hatred with which the Romans endeavoured to extirpate the Druidical customs, it is not wonderful that this very circumstance should have been the means of fixing them more deeply in those places where they were preserved; as persecution has in all cases a natural tendency to strengthen what it is its wish to eradicate. Nay even in the eleventh century, when Christianity was become the national religion, the people were so attached to their ancient superstitions, that we find a law of Canute the Great strictly prohibiting all his subjects from paying adoration to the sun, moon, sacred groves and woods, hallowed hills and fountains. If then this propensity to idolatry could not be rooted out of those parts of the kingdom exposed to the continual influx of foreigners, and the horrors of frequent war, how much more must it have flourished in Cornwall, and those parts, where the Druids long preserved their authority and influence! It may then be fairly inferred, that, from their remote situation, and comparative insignificancy with the rest of England, they preserved those religious solemnities unmolested; and, corrupted as they must naturally be by long usage and tradition, yet are handed down to us this day with evident marks of a Druidical origin.

Our holy festival of Christmas retains in some parts of this island, particularly in Lincolnshire, the Saxon appellation of Yule, which was a peculiar solemnity, celebrated about the winter solstice, in honour of Thor, the son of Odin, and frequently conducted, according to the genius of our Saxon ancestors, with the utmost excess of feasting, drinking, &c.

1795, *April.* DRUIDICUS.

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CXXVI. Signification of *Sempecta* and *Ferculum*.

MR. URBAN, *July* 20.

IN your last volume an inquiry was made after an earlier use of the word *Sempecta* than is to be found in Ingulphus's account of Croyland abbey. Not any notice having been since taken of it in your Miscellany, I am induced to repeat the question; and may I be allowed the freedom of submitting it to the attention of your learned correspondent at Winchester, than whom I am not apprized of any person more likely to make a satisfactory report? L. E. seems too hastily to have advanced that *Sempecta* frequently occurs in the Monkish writers.

Antiquariolus, at p. 383, of the present volume, has properly referred the Historian of Evesham Abbey to Ainsworth, instead of Dufresne, for the meaning of *Ferculum*, but I rather think that the true rendering of it is a dish or mess, and not a meal; because the members of the great religious houses were careful to have a constant and copious supply for their tables of flesh, fish, and fowl. Well known is the facetious Fuller's (Hist. of Abbeys, b. vi. p. 299) pleasant and true story of the method pursued by King Henry VIII. to bring to a relish of a sirloin of beef an abbot of Reading, "whose weak and squeezie stomach, from a too free indulgence in many choice and high-seasoned viands, would hardly digest the wing of a small rabbet or chicken." And, by one of the statutes of Archbishop Winchelsey for the better government of the members of Christ-church, Canterbury, a restriction to *one dish* was imposed as a penalty on an offending brother, who, by words or needless actions, should interrupt the lecture enjoined to be read during a meal;

"Item, refectione durante, omnes monachi ad lectionem aures inclinent, nulla intersigna nisi ad refectionem necessaria interim facientes. Et qui contrafecerit, in ipso refectorio in crastino comedens, pane, et potagio, et *uno duntaxat ferculo* sit contentus; et si id postea iteret, solo pane ac potagio se ibidem reficiat illo die; ac totiens pœnam ipsam sustineat quotiens delictum hujusmodi præsumpserit iterare." (Wilkins Concil. ii, p. 246.)

Nor were the secular brethren of the hospital of St. Cross, at Winchester, stinted in general to one mess; for, each of the thirteen had daily a loaf of good wheat bread; a sufficient quantity of pottage; three messes at dinner, namely,

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one mess called *Mortrell*, made of milk and wastelbred, one mess of flesh or fish, and one pittance, as the day should require; and one mess for supper; and, on six holydays in the year, one of their messes was roast meat, or fish of a better sort. These articles are particularized by Dr. Lowth, in the Life of William of Wykeham, and I suppose that *ferculum*, translated *mess*, may be the word in the original register of the bishop to which he refers.

For the ignorance of the nature of ancient mortuaries imputed to Mr. Warton, it is difficult to account, this perquisite having been generally claimed on the decease or interment of every one possessed of personal chattels, and as the term is so fully illustrated in glossaries and law dictionaries, as also by Bishop Gibson, Dr. Burn, and Judge Blackstone, in their respective Commentaries. In one sense, however, this kind of payment cannot, strictly speaking, be said to have originated with the clergy, because it corresponded to the heriot, to which so many tenants of manors were subject. Sir William Blackstone, therefore, with propriety stiles a mortuary a sort of ecclesiastical heriot; and that it was a claim, introduced after the heriot, may be decisively concluded from this circumstance, that the second best of the live stock was due as a mortuary, because to the first, or best, the lord of the manor was entitled for a heriot. Almost all the parochial incumbents could, in former days, maintain a right to a mortuary; and it appears from the underwritten entry in the consistory acts of the diocese of Rochester, that, during the vacancy of the vicarage of Lewisham, this right was vested in the bishop:

"A. 1467, July 27. Sequestratum apud Lewescham 1 equus Joh'is Stretefeld, subito defuncti, tempore vacat' vicar' ad d'num ep'um ratione vacat' ibid' pertinentem." Fol. 540, a.

Yours, &c.

W. & D.

MR. URBAN,

I FEAR I shall forfeit the favourable opinion which, it appears, your correspondent W. and D entertains of my antique lore, by his calling for my sentiments upon the long-standing controversy concerning the monastic title of *Sempecta*, when he shall find that I am capable of adding but very little to the stock of information which he is already possessed of on that subject.

With respect to the derivation of the word *Sempecta*, it seems plain to me, from its sense and termination, as well

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as from the authority of the learned Dufresne, that it is of Greek original, being a mutilation of the word συμπαίστης, *sive* συμπαίκτως *(qui cum pueris ludit, aut pueros secum habet) forsan etiam a* συμπαίστως *(simul nutritus)*. In fact, we learn from Ingulphus, that the chief and distinguishing privilege of the *Sempectæ* was their having a youth to attend upon them, and to keep them company, when they dined separately in their respective cells in the infirmary, as they were allowed to do. "Quinquagenarius autem, in ordine *Sempecta* vocandus, honestam cameram in infirmitorio, de prioris assignatione accipiat, habeatque clericum seu garcionem suo servitio specialiter attendentem, qui exhibitionem victualium recipiet, de parte abbatis, modo et mensura, quibus ministratur garcioni unius armigeri in abbatis aula. Huic *Sempectæ* unum fratrem juniorem commensalem, tam pro junioris disciplina, quam pro senioris solatio, prior quotidie assignabit." I quote the passage at length, as many of your readers may not have the Historian of Croyland at hand. W. and D. is certainly right in computing the 50 years, necessary to constitute a *Sempecta*, not from the time of his birth, but from that of his religious profession, or making his vows; which ceremony, according to the discipline of the century in question (for, this point varied at different periods), could not take place before the age of 14; hence the *Sempecta* must, at the very least, have been 64 years old. "In monasteriis," says the patriarch Pachomius, "non ætas quæritur, sed professio."

To speak now of the title itself, or rank of *Sempecta*. It is certain, indeed, that the patriarch Benedict, as well as the other monastic legislators, shewed a great respect to old age, ordering that the abbot should consult with the monks on particular occasions, and that the juniors should pay due deference to them, and should call them their *Nonni* when they addressed them. See Reg. c. 63. It is also manifest, that the usual time of acquiring seniority *by age*, was the 50th year from the monastic profession; on which occasion a ceremony called the jubilee, in allusion to the general jubilees of the Church, and to that of the old law, Levit. xxv. was, at least during the latter centuries, performed in the monasteries of both sexes. On this occasion the jubilarian, as the person in question was called, after the performance of divine service, was conducted to the altar, when a crown of flowers was placed upon his head, and a lighted taper put into his hands, accompanied with suitable prayers and benedictions. In the end, a staff, the emblem of old age, was delivered to him, to support his

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feeble steps in future. Notwithstanding all this, I do not find in any of the ancient rules, or commentators on those rules, or canonists, whomsoever, either the general distribution of the religious according to their ages, in the manner that is set down by Ingulphus, or the particular rank of *Sempectæ*, which is the subject of the present inquiry; and it seems plain to me that Dufresne and other moderns have been misled by the passage above quoted, in ascribing the regulations of a particular abbey to the whole monastic institute. Indeed, it is expressly there said, that the ordinances in question were made for *his monastery of Croyland* by the celebrated abbot Turketul, who had exchanged the condition of the chancellor and victorious general of his country against the Danes for that of an humble monk in the aforesaid monastery. The above-mentioned learned author, indeed, quotes the word *Sempectæ* from another writer, who was by birth an Englishman, and the contemporary of Ingulphus, namely, Ordericus Vitalis; but with him it occurs in quite a different sense from that of Ingulphus, not as signifying ancient monks, but the youthful companions of a secular prince. He has also discovered the original Greek word συμπαίκται in Palladius's *Lausiac History* of the Eastern Solitaries, so called from its being dedicated to Lausius, the governor of Cappadocia, written at the beginning of the fifth century, but there it occurs, not as signifying the solitaries themselves, but the young disciples who, in some instances, attended upon them. It is probable, however, that this very passage, which has always been in much vogue amongst recluses, might have furnished Turketul both with the name of *Sempecta*, and the idea of the peculiar privilege which he conferred upon those whom he appointed to be called by that name. The reasons of this abbot's peculiar veneration for the ancients in his convent, whose names, to the number of five, Ingulphus records, we are informed, were, that they had instructed him in his religious observances, and that they were the only remaining members of the old monastery of Croyland, whose companions had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Danes in the heroical manner which Ingulphus describes. We are struck at the amazing ages to which three of this number are said to have attained. Clarenbuld died at the age of 168, alias 148, Swazling at the age of 142, and Turgar having completed his 115th year.

With respect to peculiar appellations, and observances of smaller consequence, it is to be observed, that certain differences have obtained in different monasteries even of the same institute. Thus, in one or two of the convents of our

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nation, lately flourishing on the Continent, the ancient title of *Forsooth* instead of *Dame* or *Madam* (which Johnson only *supposes* to have once been "a word of honour in address to women"), continued to be applied to the senior nuns at a certain period from the time of their profession.—N. B. The said word *Nun*, of which Johnson gives no etymology at all, is derived from the above repeated word *Nonnus* (in fœmineo genere *Nonna*), quasi *Donnus*, or *Domnus*, instead of *Dominus*. The monks of the ancient orders are still addressed by the title of *Domni* (by contraction *Dom.*) in the place of *Domini*; and the nuns of the ancient orders are still called *Dames*.

Yours, &c.

1796, *July and Aug.* J. MILNER.

CXXVII. St. Paul's Church supposed to be built on the site of Diana's Temple.

Mr. URBAN, *Sept.* 5.

TRADITION, or ancient chronicle, or some other source of information, mentions St. Paul's church as built on the site of an ancient temple of Diana. Was it with regard to this legendary record that the curious offering took place, of which Mr. Pennant takes notice? I transcribe the passage from the second edition of his interesting account "Of London," p. 367:

"The most singular offering was that of a fat doe in winter, and a buck in summer, made at the high altar, on the day of the commemoration of the saint, by Sir William de Baude and his family, and then to be distributed among the Canons resident. This was in lieu of 22 acres of land in Essex, which did belong to the canons of this church. Till Queen Elizabeth's days, the doe or buck was received solemnly, at the steps of the high altar, by the dean and chapter, attired in their sacred vestments, and crowned with garlands of roses. 'They sent the body of the bucke to baking, and had the head, fixed on a pole, borne before the crosse in the procession, until they issued out of the West doore, where the keeper that brought it blowed the deathe of the bucke, and then the horners, that were about the citie, presently answered him in like manner; for which paines they had each man, of the dean and chapter, fourpence in money, and their dinner; and the keeper that

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brought it was allowed, during his abode there, for his service, meate, drinke, and lodging, and five shillings in money at his going away, together with a loafe of breade having the picture of St. Paul upon it*.'"

I cannot help imagining, Mr. Urban, that the custom here detailed, or some appendage to it, is referred to by Erasmus, in his *Ecclesiasta*, lib. 1. He says, "Apud Anglos mos est Londini, ut certo die populus in summum templum, Paulo sacrum, inducat longo hastili impositum CAPUT FERÆ (*damas* illi quidem appellant, vulgus *capros*, quum re vera sit hircorum genus cornibus palmatis in ea insula abundans), cum inamœno sonitu cornuum venatoriorum. Hac pompa præceditur ad summum altare—dicas omnes afflatos furore Delio!"

Either the account of Erasmus is, however, inaccurate, or it has an allusion to some sportive *addition* to the homage described by Pennant, probably made by the choristers, who were the lordlings of misrule, and masters of revelry in that their day, and under whose direction the theatrical interludes and entertainments, consisting in general of mixed or unmixed buffoonery, were exhibited. But we cannot help recollecting the ancient ceremonies of the Latonian huntress, as probably passing on this very spot, at which boys might officiate.

> "Setosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, *parvus*,
> Et *ramosa* Mycon offert tibi *cornua* CERVI."

Stowe, in his Survey of London (black-letter edition, 1618), speaks of the *crosse* in *Cheape* as ornamented with the statue of the goddess, to which the adjoining cathedral had been formerly dedicated. This cross had in old times been ornamented with symbols of Popery, which the zeal of reformation mutilated in the time of Edward the sixth.

On the subject of this cross, Stowe observes, that "there was set up a curious wrought tabernacle of grey marble, and in the same an alabaster image of Diana, and water, conveyed from the Thames, trilling from her naked breast for a time, but now decayed." P. 484.

Another passage is more directly applicable to the subject of this letter:

"Some have noted that, in digging the foundation of this new worke, namely, of a chappel on the South side of

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* Warton's Hist. of Poetry, II. 390.

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Paul's church, there were found more than an hundred scalpes of oxen or kine, in the yeere one thousand three hundred and sixteene; which thing, say they, confirmed greatly the opinion of those which have reported, that (of old time) there had been a temple of Jupiter, and that there was dayly sacrifice of beasts.

"Other some, both wise and learned, have thought the buck's head, borne before the procession of Paul's, on Saint Paul's day, to signify the like*. But, true it is, I have read an ancient deede to this effect:

"Sir William Baud, knight, the third of Edward the First, in the yeere 1274, on Candlemas-day, granted to Harry de Borham, deane of Paul's, and to the chapter there, that, in consideration of 22 acres of ground or land by them granted within their manor of Westley, in Essex, to be inclosed into his park of Curingham, he would for ever, upon the feast-day of the conversion of Paul, in winter, give unto them a good *doe*, seasonable and sweete, and, upon the feast of the commemoration of Saint Paul, in summer, a good bucke; and offer the same at the high altar, the same to bee spent among the canons residents: the doe to be brought by one man at the houre of procession; and thorow the procession to the high altar, and the bringer to have nothing: the bucke to be brought by all his meyney† in like manner, and they to have paid unto them, by the Chamberlaine of the church, twelve pence onely, and no more to be required.

"This graunt he made; and, for performaunce, bound the lands of him and his heires to be distrained on: and, if the lands should be evicted [*resumed by a court of judicature*], that yet he and his heires should accomplish the gift. Witnesses, Richard Tilberie, William de Wockendon, Richard de Harlowe, knight, Peter of Stamford, Thomas of Walden, and some others.

"Sir Walter Baude, sonne to William, confirmed this gift in the thirtieth of the said king; and the witnesses thereunto were Nicholas de Wockendon, Richard de Rokeley, Thomas de Mandeville, John de Rochford, knights, Richard de Bromford, William de Markes, William de Fulham, and others. Thus much for the graunt.

---

* Surely, Mr. Urban, with much more probability, as having reference to the worship of Diana?

† Subst. "*The many* rend the skies with loud applause."

DAVIES.

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" Now, what I have heard by report, and partly seene, it followeth.

" Upon the feast-day of the commemoration of Saint Paul, the bucke being brought up to the steps of the high altar in Paul's church, at the houre of procession, the deane and chapter being apparrelled in coapes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, they sent the body of the bucke to baking. [See Pennant, as above].

" Then follows:

" There was belonging to the church of Saint Paul, for both the dayes, two special sutes of vestments, the one embroidered with buckes, the other with does, both given by the said Bauds (as I have heard). Thus much for that matter." Pp. 640, 1.

This festival of the *commemoration* of St. Paul is distinct from that of his *passion*; which, falling on the same day with that of St. Peter [June 29], is called *bis festa dies.* This commemoration was appointed for the 30th of June; because, in former times, the bishop of Rome had been accustomed to officiate upon one and the same day, *in pontificalibus*, in the churches dedicated to both of the Apostles; but, when it appeared that this could not well be performed, by reason of the too far distance of the places one from the other, without too much, and almost intolerable, labour, it was thought better, that on the first day the solemnity of them both should be celebrated in the Vatican church, and the next day following the same duties should be performed in the church of St. Paul, in which place might be more fully completed what in that behalf might fortune to be omitted on the day before.

This account I find in Seymour, p. 652; with whose observation on the site of the cathedral of St. Paul, I shall conclude my remarks.

" This stately church of St. Paul," says he, " stands in or near the place where once had been a temple of Diana, the goddess worshiped by the Londoners, as Apollo was by the people of Thorney, or Westminster. This appeared from the tusks of boars, horns of stags, and of oxen, and from the representation of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing-vessels found in digging the foundation of it, which was begun by Ethelbert, king of Kent, about the year of Christ 610."

Yours, &c.

1796, *Sept.* E. E. A.

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CXXVIII. Tyttenhanger.—Chapel Wainscot at Luton.

MR. URBAN, *May* 20, 1788.

IN the year 1547, Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college, Oxford, bought of King Henry the Eighth the ancient stately mansion-house of Tyttenhanger, in the parish of Ridge, in Hertfordshire, being the country seat of the abbots of St. Alban's; and which, but for this purchase, would have been destroyed as an appendage to the abbey. This house was so large, that, in 1528, King Henry the Eighth, with his queen Catharine, and their retinue, removed hither during the continuance of the sweating sickness in London.

In this house Sir Thomas Pope made great improvements. It became his favourite place of residence, and the statutes of his college are dated thence. He erected over the vestibule of the great hall a noble gallery for wind-music. The chapel was a spacious edifice, and beautifully decorated. The windows were enriched with painted glass, which Sir Thomas Pope brought hither from the choir of St. Alban's abbey, when that church, by his interposition with the king, was preserved from total destruction. The wainscot behind or over the stalls was finely painted with a series of the figures of all the saints who bore the name of John, in memory of John Moot, one of the abbots. But Sir Thomas Pope put up a *new* piece of wainscot, of Spanish oak, on a very large scale, at the East end, most exquisitely sculptured, beginning at the end of the stalls, and continued towards the altar. This was to adorn that part of the chapel which was usually called the Presbytery, or the space about and near the altar.

After Sir Thomas Pope's death, in 1559, Tyttenhanger-house continued to be inhabited by the relations of his second wife, bearing the name of Pope-Blount. In the year 1620 it began to be lessened, or pulled down in part; about which time the family of Napier, then tenants to Trinity college (Oxford), at Luton, by the mediation of the college, removed the wainscot (above mentioned), put up by Sir Thomas Pope in the chapel of Tyttenhanger-house, in entire preservation, to the chapel of the mansion-house at Luton. John, Earl of Bute, about the year 1768, pulled down this old mansion-house at Luton, to build a new house in its place; but, with great taste and judgment, retained

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the old chapel, with Sir Thomas Pope's wainscot, where it still remains.

No traces of the old house at Tyttenhanger now remain. It was totally demolished about the year 1652, and was soon afterwards most elegantly rebuilt as it appears at present.

1797, *Jan.* T. WARTON.

CXXIX. List of the Household and mode of living, at Ragland Castle.

MR. URBAN, *Bristol, July* 1.

IN a collection of Welsh tours, lately published, I find a singular article, which I do not recollect to have seen in any of our English histories; and, as it displays an engaging picture of Welsh hospitality as well as the magnificence of former times, it may probably afford entertainment to your readers: as such, I with pleasure inclose you the extract.

J. D.

"*List of the Household and method of living, at* Ragland Castle, *by the Earl of* Worcester, *in the Reign of* Charles I. 1641.

"At 11 o'clock in the forenoon the castle gates were shut, and the tables laid; two in the dining-room; three in the hall; one in Mrs. Watson's apartment, for the chaplains (Sir Toby Mathews being the first); and two in the housekeeper's room, for the ladies' women.

"The earl entered the dining-room, attended by his gentleman.

"As soon as he was seated, Sir Ralph Blackstone, steward of the house, retired. The comptroller, Mr. Holland, attended with his staff, as did the sewer, Mr. Blackburne; the daily waiters, Mr. Clough, Mr. Selby, Mr. Scudamore; and many gentlemen's sons, with estates from two to seven hundred pounds a year, who were bred up in the castle; my lady's gentlemen of the chamber, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Fox.

"At the first table sat the noble family, and such of the nobility as came there.

"At the second table, in the dining-room, sat knights and honourable gentlemen, attended by footmen.

"In the hall, at the first table, sat Sir Ralph Blackstone,

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steward; the comptroller, Mr. Holland; the secretary; the master of the horse, Mr. Dolowar; the master of the fish-ponds, Mr. Andrews; my Lord Herbert's preceptor, Mr. Adams; with such gentlemen as came there under the degree of a knight, attended by footmen, and plentifully served with wine.

"At the second table in the hall (served from my Lord's table, and with other hot meats) sat the sewer, with the gentlemen waiters and pages, to the number of twenty-four.

"At the third table, in the hall, sat the clerk of the kitchen, with the yeoman officers of the house, two grooms of the chamber, &c.

"Other officers of the household were, chief auditor, Mr. Smith; clerk of the accounts, George Whithorn; purveyor of the castle, Mr. Salisbury; ushers of the hall, Mr. Moyle and Mr. Cooke; closet-keeper; gentleman of the chapel, Mr. Davies; keeper of the records; master of the wardrobe; master of the armoury; master grooms of the stable for the war-horses, twelve; master of the hounds; master falconer; porter, and his man.

"Two butchers; two keepers of the home park; two keepers of the red deer park.

"Footmen, grooms, and other menial servants, to the number of 150. Some of the footmen were brewers and bakers.

"*Out Officers.*

"Steward of Ragland, William Jones, esq.

"The governor of Chepstow castle, Sir Nicholas Kemys, bart.

"Housekeeper of Worcester house in London, James Redman, esq.

"Thirteen bailiffs.

"Two counsel for the bailiffs to have recourse to.

"Solicitor, Mr. John Smith.

"This once magnificent castle is now in ruins, but the remains of it are well worth the observation of travellers. Among other parts now standing is a flight of steps, which appear ready to fall, yet so curiously put together as to be ascended without danger; part of the hall is standing, and presents to the view a beautiful picture of ancient architecture."

1797, *July.*

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CXXX. Use of Piscinæ in Churches.

MR. URBAN, *July* 15.

I Have sent you an accurate representation of a *fenestella* in the South wall of the chancel of the very beautiful church of Melton Mowbray, in Leicestershire.

These niches have in general been improperly called basins, or stoups, for holy water; but your correspondent Indagator,* gave them the true name of *piscinæ*; and in his learned disquisition on episcopal seats, stone chairs, and other appendages to sacred edifices, inserted in Archæologia, vol. XI. he has specified some of the uses of these receptacles. One of them was, p. 353,

"That, should a fly or spider, &c. fall into the chalice before consecration, it was directed to be thrown, together with the wine, into this receptacle; but, should this happen afterwards, it was directed to be burnt *super piscinam.*"

Mr. Clarke's reference is to a Roman missal published in 1528; but this direction occurs in Typographical Antiquities, vol. III. under the article of "The Boke named the Royall, compyled at the Request of King Phelip (le Bele of Fraunce), in the year MCCLXXIX." Of the translation of this book, made and printed by Caxton, Mr. Herbert remarks, that he knows of no other copy than that which is in the King's possession; and that to it are annexed some curious injunctions, or instructions, to a priest about saying mass, intituled, "Of the Negligences happyning in the Masse, and of the Remedyes. Made especially for the symple People, and for the symple (Priests), which understond not Latyn." The instruction alluded to is at p. 1769, as follows:

"A doctour, which is called Bonaventure, saith, that yf tofore the consecracion a flye, or loppe, or any other venymouse beest, were found in the chalyce, it ought to be cast into the *piscine.* And the chalyce ought to be wasshen, and to put other wine and water into the chalyce. And yf after the consecracion were found ony thi'g, as poyson or venymous beste, in the chalyce, it ought to be take wysely and wasshen, and to brenne the best. And the asshes and the wasschyng of the beeste to be put in the *pysçine.*"

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* See p. 396.

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Very requisite, therefore, was it that the *piscina* should be constructed near the station of the celebrant. And this will account for our seeing these niches not only in the walls of chancels not far from the high altar, but also in the ailes and chantry-chapels, where there were side altars for private masses.

In the preceding page the same profound Doctour gives this instruction concerning the kind of wine which the priest was to consecrate for the use of himself alone, the cup being at that time withheld from lay-communicants:

"And knowe that the wyne ought not to be soure ne vergews. For it sholde have noo consecracyon. For the aygre wyne is no more wyn, but it hath be wyne. And the vergews is not yet wyne, but it *shold be wyne yf it shold be suffered to ripe.*"

But, qu. is this observation well founded? If time formerly would thus improve verjuice, has it not lost that quality? According to Chambers's Dictionary, v. *verjuice*, "it has its name from a large sort of grape, called *verjus*, or *bourdelas*, which is said never to grow perfectly ripe; or, rather, which in its utmost maturity is too austere and sour to be used in wine, whence it is commonly turned into *verjuice.*

1797, *Aug.* W. and D.

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